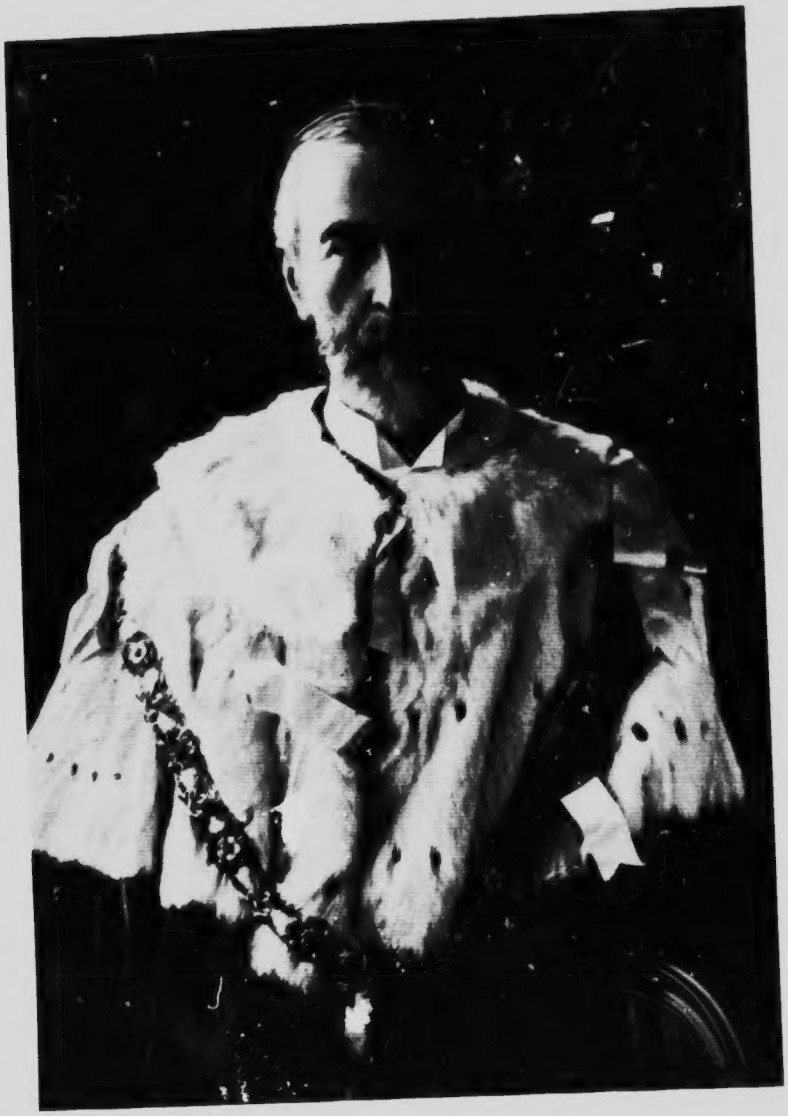

DONALD JAMES, 11TH LORD REAY.

508

THE

BOOK OF MACKAY

BY

ANGUS MACKAY, M.A.

(ST. ANDREWS UNIVERSITY)

Minister at Westerdale, Caithness

Work wisely and take heed to the end: Be valiant

EDINBURGH: NORMAN MACLEOD, 25 GEORGE IV. BRIDGE

CANADA: EDWARD MACKAY, ST. PETER'S MANSE, MADOC, ONT.

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To
Kith and Kin
at Home and Abroad

THE EDITION IS LIMITED TO FIVE HUNDRED COPIES, OF WHICH THIS IS No. 53 SIGNED BY THE AUTHOR

A. MacRae

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Preface.

THE plan adopted in this work is to gather the general history in the form of memoirs around the names of the various chieftains of Strathnaver. This is followed by genealogical accounts of the principal families of Mackay; and these again are followed by an appendix of documents taken for the most part from the hitherto unpublished family papers of the Mackays of Strathnaver, later Lords of Reay. To those who take an interest in our northern history, social development, or place-names, the Reay Papers should prove of no little value. How I stumbled upon them is told at page 2.

Although the idea of writing this book was not seriously entertained until after the discovery of the Reay Papers in 1900, I began to accumulate material, genealogical and otherwise, as early as 1878, when a student at St. Andrews University. After my settlement at Westerdale, the distance from a large library was felt, but I generally managed to get a fortnight's holiday to Edinburgh each year, and spent it working at the Advocates' Library; while kind friends in the south very generously lent me from time to time books of reference for study at home. In this fashion the pile of notes continued to grow year by year.

I am deeply indebted to Lord Reay, Chief of Mackay, and to the Rev. Dr. James Aberigh Mackay, Chieftain of the Aberach Mackays, for their encouragement generally, and particularly for their influential letters commending this work, which appeared in the prospectus issued soliciting subscribers. The list of subscribers printed at the end of the book owes not a little of its length to these two letters. At the same time, members of the Clan all over the world, as soon as they learned what I was about, vied with one another in backing me up, and did their utmost to secure subscribers to the Book of Mackay. To one and all I extend my warmest thanks.

To the following I am indebted for the loan of reference books and MSS., viz., Sheriff Aeneas Mackay, K.C., LL.D., Edinburgh; Colonel

Forbes Mackay of Carskey; Dr. George Mackay, Edinburgh; James Macdonald, Esqr., W.S., Edinburgh; Rev. W. Hall Telford, Reston; Thomas Middlemore, Esqr. of Melsetter; William Mackay, Esqr., solicitor, Inverness; A. N. Macaulay, Esqr., solicitor, Golspie; John Mackay, Esqr., editor of the *Celtic Monthly*, Glasgow; and the Rev. J. Lundie, Tongue.

Thanks are also due to the following for the use of portraits and illustrations, viz., Lord Reay; Rev. Dr. J. Aberigh Mackay; the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; Messrs J. Maxwell & Son, Dumfries; Dr. Norman J. M'Kie, Newton Stewart; Mrs. Webster, Helensburgh; Provost A. Y. Mackay, Grangemouth; James F. Mackay, Esqr., W.S., Edinburgh; Donald Mackay, Esqr., solicitor, Thurso; Duncan Mackay, Esqr., Cheltenham; Miss Scobie, Durness; Mrs. Geddie, Halkirk; and Mrs. W. Brims, Thurso. The portraits facing pages 220 and 312 are from paintings by Reynolds, that facing page 332 is by Raeburn, while that facing 172 is by one of the Dutch masters.

I take this opportunity of thanking the officials in charge of the following Edinburgh libraries for their great courtesy to me, viz., The Advocates', Signet, University, and Public; nor must I forget to thank the keeper of the Sasine Register at the Register House. I also congratulate Mr. Rae, printer, Wick, on the work which he has turned out for me.

And last, but not least, I owe more to my wife than I care to say, for she laboriously corrected all the proof-sheets as they issued from the press. Notwithstanding our united pains, however, a few errors have crept into the text, but the more important are pointed out and corrected at page 483. As this is my first serious attempt at book writing, and as I had to work in a secluded northern valley, far away from libraries, I venture to crave the indulgence of my readers in view of any defects. If the perusal of these pages gives to some readers a little of the pleasure and the instruction which their preparation gave to me, then the book has not been written in vain.

A. MACKAY.

UNITED FREE CHURCH MANSE,
WESTERDALE, CAITHNESS,
1906.

THE

BOOK OF MACKAY

Introductory

WE must at the outset express our great indebtedness to the indefatigable labours in this field of Mr. Robert MacKay, whose *History of the House and Clan of MacKay* was published in 1829. His genealogical account of the various branches of the MacKay family, though somewhat brief and lacking in dates, is wonderfully accurate so far as it goes. When he wrote the field of Highland family history was practically fallow, and he had to pick his way over the ground very much under the guidance of Sir Robert Gordon, whose partisan spirit often roused his ire. Since then things are very much altered. Various valuable books have been compiled, and many important old books in MS. [illegible]e been published, shedding light upon our subject. National [illegible]uments, which could then be only consulted in MS. either at Edinburgh or London, may now be studied at any good public library in the printed form, and with most helpful indices. With the comparatively scanty material at his disposal, Mr. Robert MacKay produced a book which does him credit, and which has often helped us over a difficulty.

As we were collecting information for many years past regarding

our northern history, the theory growingly possessed us that Eric, 7th Lord Reay, who sold the lands of MacKay in 1829, must have left family documents of historical interest, and that, as he died unmarried, these papers might lie in the hands of his factors or lawyers. We brought this theory to the notice of Æneas MacKay, LL.D., lately Sheriff of Fife, who encouraged us to prosecute our search, and made some helpful suggestions. Acting upon his advice, we followed up certain clues without discovering anything of importance. In the spring of 1900, just as we were about to consult the Edinburgh Register House, in order to find out if possible who acted for Lord Reay about the time that he sold the estate, we chanced to discuss the matter with a member of our congregation, at one time a clerk in an Edinburgh lawyer's office. This gentleman, to our surprise and delight, straightway informed us that in the vaults of the office where he had served there were two large boxes with the painted inscription, "Lord Reay," containing documents bearing upon the north, as he had verified for himself during an idle hour.

With this piece of information we set out for Edinburgh, and reported the matter to Sheriff MacKay, who consulted the firm in question, and discovered that our information was correct. Eventually, through the sheriff's influence, the two boxes were entrusted to us for perusal, and but a little examination served to show that they were the Reay Charter Chests, or at least a portion of them. The documents include charters and copies of charters, bonds of friendship, records of transfers of lands, marriage settlements, wadsetts, rent-rolls, etc. There are unfortunately very few private letters among them. They are referred to in the following pages as *Reay Papers*.

Mr. Thomas Middlemore of Melsetter, in Orkney, and of Hawkesley, near Birmingham, very kindly put at our disposal for the purposes of this work an elaborate Search of Sasines, Deeds, Testaments, etc., pertaining to Sutherlandshire, and having special reference to such as bore the name MacKay in that county, executed for him by the

well-known antiquarian, the Rev. Walter Macleod, Edinburgh. To the genealogist this is an invaluable compilation, which we should gladly see published for the benefit of future writers of our northern history.

Through the influence of a Sandwood MacKay—Dr. George MacKay, F.R.C.S.E., Edinburgh—Colonel A. Forbes MacKay of Carskey very generously entrusted to us the Blackcastle MS. book, extending to 574 foolscap pages, compiled by the Colonel's grandfather, Mr. Alexander MacKay, F.S.A., of Blackcastle, near Edinburgh, and finished in 1832. In the following pages it is referred to as the *Blk. MS.* It gives a succinct historical and genealogical account of the Strathnaver Mackays, together with a genealogical account of its cadet branches. Mr. MacKay of Blackcastle had access to the family papers of Eric, 7th Lord Reay, the title deeds of the MacKays of Bighouse and the MacKays of Strathy, some papers in Dunrobin and Thurso Castles bearing on the history of the MacKays, from all of which he made voluminous extracts. By far the larger part of the book is taken up with these interesting extracts.

Mr. Mackay of Blackcastle had also an old family MS. history, which apparently belonged to the Reay family, and which he worked into his history of that family, but unfortunately it is not now among the *Reay Papers.* Its chief interest lay in that it gave a very different account of the early genealogy of the MacKays from that given by Sir Robert Gordon. Sir Robert says that a certain Walter Forbes was progenitor of the MacKays, but the *Blk. MS.* derives them from Malcolm mac Eth, Earl of Ross. Of this we shall have more to say. In the *House and Clan of MacKay* the early genealogy of Sir Robert is accepted, and no reference is made to this old MS. account; but neither is there any reference made to, or use made of, the *Reay Papers.* It does not seem that Eric Lord Reay gave much, if any, assistance to the author of the *House and Clan of MacKay* by setting at his disposal family papers, and the reason

is not far to seek. MacKay's history appeared in 1829, the very year in which Lord Reay sold his Highland estates; and as his Lordship was making arrangements some years previous to this for selling the same, all his family papers were in the hands of law agents. It was after his estate had been sold and MacKay's history had appeared that Lord Erie consulted Mr. MacKay of Blackcastle, and gave him the *Reay Papers* to peruse.

Mr. John MacKay of Herrisdale, commonly known as "Ben Reay," author of *An Old Scots Brigade*, etc., had a strong desire to write a history of MacKay, but old age and frail health prevented him from carrying out his purpose. His papers are also placed at our disposal, but they are for the most part mere scraps, with the exception of his genealogical account of the Mackays of Melness, to which branch he belonged himself. In our account of the said family we follow "Ben Reay" closely, but add a considerable amount of new matter discovered by ourselves in the *Reay Papers*. We have also been studying this subject for some years, and, however imperfect the following pages may be, we have made a careful search of the public records and read as widely as our limited opportunities and means permitted.

I.—THE NAME MACKAY.

An examination of the public record shows that the name MacKay was spelt in a great variety of ways. The Strathnaver or northern MacKays appear as Makky, Macky, Maky, Mckye, Mckeye, Mackie, Mckie, Mackey, but the commonest form was McKy. The Islay MacKays, whose Charter in Gaelic, of eleven and a half merk lands from Macdonald of the Isles in 1408, is well known, appear as McCei, McAy, etc. The MacKays of Garachty in Bute, one of whom, John McGe, witnessed a document, 10th Mar. 1540, as Sheriff of Bute, appear as Makkay, Makkee, and even Makcawe, but for oftenest they are represented, from 1515 downwards, as Mackaw. The MacKays of Ugadale, who were crowners of north Kintyre from time

Reg. Mag. Sig.

Ibid.

immemorial, held of the Lords of the Isles as is stated in a charter of confirmation by the King, given 11th Aug. 1542, and possessed of the four merk lands of Ugadale and Arnigill in virtue of their office, appear as McKey, MaKKay, MaKKaye, but most commonly as McCay. The Galloway MacKays, of whom there were various families holding a considerable amount of land in Wigton, Kirkcudbrightshire, etc., such as Camlodane, Balgarne, Craichlo, Mertoun, Balmagee, etc., appear as Makke, Makee, Makge, Makgee, Makgie, McGie, McGhie, and Mackghie, but towards the close of the 16th century they appear generally as McKie and McGhie.

MacKay represents in English the Gaelic name MacAoidh, a compound of *mac* (son), and *Aoidh* the genitive of the proper name Aodh. Aodh frequently appears in the literature of the Gael as the name of Picts, Scots, and Irish; but its present aspirated form indicates a harder formation, AED, which indeed is found in earlier Irish writings, and is supposed to mean "the fiery or impetuous one." Some authorities have equated Aodh with Hugh, but we do not accept that view, as Hugh, which stands for the Gaelic Huistean, is generally represented in Latin documents by Hugo, while Aodh is transformed into Odo or Odoneus. Nay more, there are various instances in which two brothers may be found, the one called Aodh and the other Hugh, as, for example, the family of Donald 1st Lord Reay, whose first and third sons were so named respectively. This shows that they were considered two different names then, just as is the case to-day among Strathnaver people. Probably the best English equivalent of Aodh is Iye, if it can be called an equivalent; and it is a pity that this name, as characteristic of the MacKays once as Rorie is of the Macleods or Ranald of the Macdonalds, is not more commonly used nowadays.[1] Like the name MacKay, Aodh also has been twisted into a great variety of forms to suit the fancy of different writers. In the *Earldom of Sutherland*, written about 1630 by Sir

GAELIC ETY. DICTIONARY.

1. Among Strathnaver people at the present day a person addressed as Iye, in Gaelic, signs his name and is addressed, in English, as Isaac. The surname MacIsaac, to be found in the West Highlands, may be a corrupt form of MacKay.

Robert Gordon, the name is spelt *Iye*, and in some cases Y simply. In the 1415 charter by the Lord of the Isles to Angus Du of Strathnaver, it is spelt Eyg, and in the will of Sutherland of Dunbeath, dated 1456, it is spelt Aytho.[1] "Marriota filia Athyn," the first wife of the "Wolf of Badenoch" and the mother of his children, was a daughter of Athyn, another form of the name Aodh. In some of the Latin documents included in the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, in Fordun's *Annalia*, etc., Malcolm MacEth or MacKay, who claimed the earldom of Moray, and became first Earl of Ross about 1157, is variously denominated MacEth, MacHeth, MacEd, MacHead, etc. Dr. Macbain, who edits the second edition of Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, writes at page 414—"The name Heth is the most ill-used syllable I know of. It appears as Head, Ed, Eth; the Gaelic form of all these monstrosities can easily be identified. It is the very favourite name of Aed or Aodh, later translated as Hugh. Macheth is an old form of MacKay."

II.—ORIGIN OF THE MACKAY FAMILY

There is a pretty general agreement that the MacKays and Forbeses sprang from the same stock, or were closely connected in the distant past. Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonston, son of Alexander, 11th Earl of Sutherland, and tutor of John, 13th Earl, during his minority, wrote a history of the earldom of Sutherland about 1630, which gives a vast amount of information, not only about the Sutherland family, but about the MacKays, Sinclairs, and many other northern clans. Sir Robert, however, is notoriously unjust to every family who did not happen to be on friendly terms with his own, and particularly so to the MacKays, whom he bastardizes with great freedom. His hostile spirit towards this family is nakedly shown in the *Farewell Letter of Advice*, of which we give extracts in our

1. "ITEM, I geve and assigns to my douchtir Marion al the have of my landis that I have undispeny[t] upone, and sa meny ky aid and zong as I have wyth Aytho Faurcharsone, or wyth MacKay Benauch [Bonar] and sa mony ky as scho aucht to have of William Polsony's ky."—*Miscellany of the Bannatyne Club. Vol. III.*

Appendix No. 36. Sir Robert says that the MacKays sprang from "one called Walter, reported by some to have been the bastard sone of the Lord Forbese his predecessour, who at that time was not yet [illegible] of the surname of Forbese." This Walter, he proceeds [illegible] chamberlain to the Bishop of Caithness, married his dau[illegible] obtained from the said bishop church lands in Strathna[illegible] the long genealogical account which follows, Walter must h[illegible] about 1150 a period sufficiently remote to preclude any k[illegible] of his legitimacy or otherwise, we should say. The only [illegible] interests us presently in this account is the statement tha[illegible] Kays and Forbeses were supposed to have had a common o[illegible]

In 1652 the eccentric Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty [illegible] the *True Pedigree and Lineal Descent of the most Ancient and [illegible] able Family of Urquhart, in the House of Cromarty, from the Creation of the World until the year of God* 1652. He solem[illegible] tells us that in the 8th century of the Christian era Vocom[illegible]os, he[illegible] of the House of Cromarty, "had to his second brothe[illegible] Phorbas Urquhart, and Hugh to the third; of whom, some [illegible] hundred years after that, the names of Forbes and Ma[illegible] had [illegible] beginning." We laugh at Sir Thomas' crazy geneal[illegible], but [illegible] the fact that he records the MacKays, Urquharts, and Forbeses w[illegible] of the same stock.

In 1667 William Forbes edited and drew up a preface fo[illegible] *House of Forbes*, compiled by Mathew Lumsden in 1580. In [illegible] preface he says Ochonochar, an Irish lord who came over to Scotlan[illegible] had a son Ochonochar, and that this second Ochonochar had thre[illegible] sons, who became the respective progenitors of the families of Forbes, Urquhart, and MacKay. He proceeds:—

"Ochonochar's third son, called Walter Forbes, went to Kaitness, and attended the Bishope thereof, and he being familiar with the Bishope's daughter, begate her with child, with whom, fearing the Bishop's wrath, he fled to Strathnaver, and possessed himself of the twelve davoch an' land of Dromesos [Durness], then belonging to the Bishope; whereupon the Bishope, raising a number of men, went to Strathnaver, and possessed

himself again of the said land. Walter and the Bishope's daughter being fled, left behind them their little sone; and it being told the Bishope that the child was his daughter's, begotten by Walter Forbes, the Bishope caused immediatlie fenss the court in the name of the child, who was called John Forbes, of whom is descendid the house of MacKay who is now Lord Rea. . . . . This narratione of the originall of the houss of MacKay, the first Lord Reay did relate to credable gentlemen who related the same to the writer hereof, etc."

These three writers—others also might be quoted to the same effect[1]—agree in saying that there was an original connection between the Strathnaver Mackays, who live in the extreme north of Scotland, and the Forbeses, who live in the old provinces of Moray and Buchan. Sir Robert Gordon and Forbes expressly state that they had had their information from the MacKays themselves. Sir Thomas Urquhart, no doubt, obtained his from the same source, as he was on very intimate terms with the MacKays, who, like himself, were staunch supporters of the two kings Charles. They were associated in the northern campaign of 1649 when Inverness was captured by the royalists, and again at the battle of Worcester, in 1651. Captain MacKay of Borley, at the head of some MacKays, fought alongside the Knight of Cromarty. But what these writers assert is borne out by the warm friendship existing between the two families for some centuries. As shall be afterwards shown, Donald MacKay of Strathnaver helped the Forbeses in their Aberdeenshire feuds about 1534: his son Iye Du MacKay lived in close amity with them up to his death in 1572, as various documents show, while the sons of Iye Du went even the length of calling themselves "MacKay-Forbes." That is to say, Huistean MacKay of Strathnaver, Donald of Scourie, and William of Bighouse, are styled in various documents "Mackay-Forbes." Donald, afterwards, 1st Lord Reay, sometimes put this addition to his surname, and at least two of his sons were so styled. In the days of John, 2nd Lord Reay, Forbes bishop of Caithness, a

1. Fraser, in the *Wardlaw MS.*, e.g., writes, "A pretty fellow called Alexander Buys, killing a Fear by singular manhood. Bruce called him Fear Buys, whence is the original of the Forbes, and has on Ha gave origin to the McKyes

cadet of the house of Forbes, befriended the MacKays with regard to church lands which the Sutherland family managed to get a hold of; and even in the days of Lord George, grandson of Lord John, the friendship of Mackay and Forbes was maintained. Thus from about 1500 down to the time of the Marr rebellion in 1715, there is documentary evidence of such a close friendship existing between these two families, living so far apart, as to strongly confirm the common tradition that they were of a kindred stock.

Skene, in his *Highlanders of Scotland*, suggests that the MacKays were descended of the ancient Caithness Maormors. He writes:

"It happens unfortunately for the solution of this question, that the Clan MacKay is not contained in the manuscript of 1450 [a Gaelic genealogical MS. in the Advocates' Library]; and in the absence of direct testimony of any sort, the most probable supposition seems to be that they were descended from the ancient Gaelic inhabitants of the district of Caithness. If this conclusion be a just one, however, we can trace the early generations of the clan in the Sagas, for we are informed by them that towards the beginning of the twelfth century 'there lived in the Dolum Katanesi (or Strathnaver) a man named Moddan, a noble and rich man,' and that his sons were Magnus Orti, and Ottar, the Earl in Thurso. The absence of all mention of Moddan's father, the infallible mark of a Norwegian in the Sagas, sufficiently points out that he must have been a native; but this appears still more strongly from his son being called an earl. No Norwegian under the Earl of Orkney could have borne such a title, but they indiscriminately termed all the Scottish maormors and great chiefs earls, and consequently Moddan and his son Ottar must have been Gaelic Maormors of Caithness, and consequently the MacKays, if a part of the ancient inhabitants of Caithness, were probably descended from them."

As regards Moddan and his son Earl Ottar of Thurso, we venture to suggest that they were descended of an earlier Moddan, who fell at Thurso about 1040. In the *Orkneyinga Saga* we read that King Karl Hundi (whom Dr. Skene identifies as King Duncan, son of Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, by his wife, a daughter of King Malcolm MacKenneth) gifted Caithness to Moddan, his sister's son, conferring upon him at the same time the dignity of an earl. As Caithness was at this time under the sway of the Norsemen, to secure the royal gift

meant stern fighting. Earl Moddan is reported to have marched north with a large army, and taking up his quarters at Thurso, was there surprised and slain. We hear no more of this Earl Moddan, but it is not at all likely that his family would lightly relinquish their claims to lands which the king gifted, and consequently we think that "Moddan the noble man of Dolum Katanesi," who flourished about 1100, was the son or grandson of Moddan, nephew of Duncan, king of Scots. Skene, in the extract quoted above, gives substantial reasons for believing that the Moddan family was Celtic, and not Norse. This view is further strengthened by the fact that the name Moddan is purely Celtic. It is a compound of Mo-Aodh-an, and means "a votary of St. Aidan," while the name Aidan is a Gaelic diminutive of Aodh. This we state upon the authority of Professor Mackinnon, Celtic Chair, Edinburgh. From the account given in the Sagas this family appears to have latterly lived on more friendly terms with the Norse Earls of Orkney, who were overlords of Caithness, than with the Scottish kings. But there is nothing surprising in this. In course of time they may have found it better policy to court the favour of the Norseman, rather than maintain a struggling allegiance to the distant and unstable Scottish throne.

FORFEITS.

Moddan, who lived in the "Dales of Caithness," had two sons, Earl Ottar of Thurso and Magnus "the generous;" he had also two daughters, Helga and Frakork. Helga married Earl Hakon,[1] Paul's son, and bore to him Ingibiorg, who married Olave the Red, King of Man and the Isles, whose daughter Ragnhild became the wife of Somerled regulus of Argyle. Frakork, the other daughter of Moddan, married Liot, "a great man and chieftain in Sutherland," says Torfæus. The two sons of Moddan may be the "da mac Matni" (the two sons of Matan), who are said, in the *Book of Deer*, to have witnessed at Ellon, along with the nobles of Buchan and others, the

ORK. SAGA. INTRODUCTION.

1. On an island in Loch Hakon, a considerable sheet of water about three miles south of Tongue House, may be seen the ruins of a house called Grianan (sunny), which is traditionally reported to have been the summer resort of a Hakon and his lady. Was this Earl Hakon and his wife, Helga, the daughter of Moddan?

solemn mortmaining of offerings by Colban Mormaer of Buchan to the monastery of Deer, shortly after 1132. Distant though Caithness be from Buchan, there is nothing unreasonable in this surmise, for there was in ancient times a close ecclesiastical connection between the province of Caithness and the territories of Moray, Buchan, and Aberdeen, as Dr. Stuart, editor of the *Book of Deer*, observes.[1] And if the Moddan family came originally from the north-east shoulder of Scotland, as we suspect, the surmise is all the more reasonable.

The *Highlanders of Scotland*, in which it is suggested that the MacKays are descended from the Moddan family, was written by Skene when a young man, in 1836; but before the conclusion of his great work, *Celtic Scotland*, in 1880, some of his earlier and immature views underwent considerable change. Dr. Æneas Mackay, lately lecturer on Constitutional Law and History in the University of Edinburgh, afterwards Sheriff of Fife, and the author of various learned historical works, informs us that Dr. Skene, in his later years, was inclined to believe that the MacKays, formerly called Clan Morgan, passed over from Moray and Buchan to Strathnaver when King Malcolm cleared that part of Scotland of its rebellious inhabitants, about 1160. This also seems to have been the view of the well-known Gaelic scholar, the late Rev. Dr. Maclauchlan, Edinburgh, who, when discussing the MacHeth claimants to the earldom of Moray, writes:—"The race of Mac-Heth may appear among the Mac-Heths or Mac-Aoidhs, the Mackays of Sutherland, nor is this rendered less probable by the Morganich or sons of Morgan, the ancient name of the MacKays, appearing in the 'Book of Deer' as owning possessions and power in Buchan." Curiously enough, this is exactly the position taken up by the *Blk. MS.*, which claims that the MacKays of Strathnaver are descended from Malcolm MacEth, first Earl of Ross.

EARLY SCOTTISH CHURCH

1. According to the *Aberdeen Breviary*, St. Fergus, who came from Ireland, after founding three churches in Aberdeenshire, crossed over to Caithness, where he also reared some churches, one of which is at Wick. St. Drostan, one of the founders of the Deer monastery, has various dedications in Caithness, at Canisbay, Westfield, and Westerdale, at which latter place there is a noted holy well, called Tobair Trostan (well of Trostan). St. Moddan, who also laboured in Aberdeenshire, as many place-names show, has dedications in Caithness at Bower and Olrig.

The Strathnaver Mackays were known in ancient times as the Clan Morgan. In the *Earldom of Sutherland*, Sir Robert Gordon repeatedly applies this epithet to them. In one of the Clan Ranald MSS., commonly called *Little Book*, the writer gives the names of various Highland chiefs who flourished during his youth, when "Charles, son of James sixth, was king;" and among them mentions "Donald Duabhail MacKay, chief of the Clan Morgan." This was Donald, afterwards 1st Lord Reay, chief of the Strathnaver MacKays. He was and is still known to the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders of Strathnaver as Donald Dughall. To the old Highlanders the Danes were Du-Ghalls, "black strangers," and the Norwegians were Fion-Ghalls, "white strangers," for what reason we cannot say. It was because the first Lord Reay served for some time under the King of Denmark that he came to be nicknamed Dughall. That the Clan MacKay was once called Clan Morgan has never been disputed by competent authorities. The earliest reference to the Clan Morgan, of which we have any knowledge, is to be found in a Gaelic entry in the *Book of Deer*, dated a few years later than 1132; and in this entry we find the toisheach of the clan, his two sons, and the two sons of Matan, witnessing a legal transaction at Ellon, the old capital of Buchan. We proceed to give a literal translation of the entry, and the entry itself we give in a foot-note:[1]—

SKENE MSS. NO. 2.

"Colbain, mormaer of Buchan, and Eva, daughter of Gartnait, his married wife, and Donnachadh son of Sithig, toisheach of Clan Morgan, immolated all the offerings given to God and to Droston and to Columkill and to Peter the Apostle, free from all the burdens for a share of four davachs of what would come on the chief monasteries of Scotland generally and on the chief churches. Before these witnesses: Broccin, and Cormac abbot of Turbruaid, and Morgan son Donnachadh, and Gilli-Petair son of Donnachadh, and Malaechin, and the two sons of Matan, and all good ones of Buchan in witness hereof in Elon."

The name Morgan or Morcunn comes from the Gaelic word Mor,

1. Robaid Collain mormaer Buchan 7 Eua ingen Gartnait a benphusta 7 Donnachae mc Sithig toesech clenni Morgain nahuli edbarta ri Dia 7 ri Drostan 7 ri Columcilli 7 ri Peter apstal onahulib dolaidib archuit cetri dalach do ni Chissad ar ardmanaidib Alban cucotchem: ara hardchelfaib. Test. his: Broccin 7 Cormac abb Turbruaid 7 Morgunn mc Donnchaid 7 Gilli Petair mc Donnchaid 7 Malaechin 7 da mc Matni 7 mathe Buchan huli naididnaisse in Helain. See *Book of Deer*.

"the sea," and is said by the author of the Gaelic Etymological Dictionary to mean "sea bright." The place-name Moray, which appears in the older forms Murev, Murav, etc., comes also from the root Mor, and means "the sea side." As Catuv, the locative case of Cat, denotes Catland or Sutherland, and Galluv, the locative case of Gall, denotes the Norseman's land or Caithness, so Moruv, the locative case of Mor, denotes the sea-side land or Moray. And just as the inhabitants of Sutherland are called in Gaelic to this day Cattich, and those of Caithness Gallich, so probably did the name Morgan arise to denote Moraymen in general, or a certain section of that people. We are justified in concluding that there was some connection between the names Morgan and Murray, as both sprang from the same old Gaelic root Mor, the sea. SHAW'S MORAY.

The editor of the *Book of Deer* is perplexed over grants of land by Moraymen, such as Malcolm the son of Maelbrigte and Maelsnechte the son of Lulach, to a monastery in the rival province of Buchan. We fail to appreciate his difficulty, for the church was not a provincial institution. To us it seems most natural that officials in Moray should help a neighbouring monastery of such standing as that of Deer. As Toisheach, first or leader, is supposed to have been the official next in order after the Ri, petty king, or the Mormaer, overlord, it may be that Duncan of Clan Morgan appeared at Ellon on this occasion to represent the Moraymen, seeing that they were without a Mormaer since Angus fell at Strathcathro in 1130. Indeed, this solemn assembly on the moot-hill of Ellon, where representatives from Caithness and Moray, as we believe, were present with the nobles of Buchan, may have been due to the anxiety of the Deer officials to secure their church-lands by as legal and binding a title as possible, in view of the then distracted state of the country, owing, among other factors, to the growing feudalism of the Scots kings.

Dr. Macbain, in a note to his edition of Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, says:—"It is remarkable that the Sutherland Mackays claim kinship with the Forbeses of Aberdeenshire, and about 1603

actually adopted Lord Forbes' arms, with cadet differences, . . . but it is also remarkable that the name Morgan exists, or in historic times existed, nowhere else than in Aberdeenshire and among the Sutherland MacKays." Of course he is speaking of Scotland; but he is not justified in strictly limiting the south Morgans to Aberdeenshire alone—a portion of the province of Buchan in olden times. They also meet us in Moray. About 1226 King Alexander gave in excambion to Andrew, bishop of Moray, some forest-lands, a part of which was "dimidiam daucham in landa Morgund" (half a davach in the Morgan-lands). These lands were in the neigbourhood of Pluscardine, between Forres and Elgin, and probably became the Crown's property through escheat from the former owners. Not less remarkable than those which Dr. Macbain points out is the fact that, in the early genealogies of the Highland Clans given in the Advocate's Library MS. of 1450, and in the still earlier Irish MSS., the name Morgan is never found in a Highland family except that of Moray!

CART. MOR. No. 29

Let us now see where we stand. We found that, about 1039, King Duncan gave Caithness to his nephew Moddan, who lost his life at Thurso soon thereafter endeavouring to wrest the king's gift from the Norsemen. About 1100 we saw that Moddan, "a noble and rich man," occupied the "Dales of Caithness" (or Strathnaver), on friendly terms with the Norsemen, and concluded that he was a son or representative of the earlier Moddan thus endeavouring to secure the king's gift. As the province of Caithness had been then for about two centuries in the possession of the Norsemen, we presumed that the earlier Moddan was not a native of that part of the country, but a Celt of Moray or Buchan, and for that presumption we got some support from the fact that two sons of a Moddan witnessed a very solemn legal transaction in Buchan about 1133. We also found that the Clan Morgan was located in these north-eastern parts about this time, that its toisheach acted in his official capacity along with the mormaer of Buchan, and that the name Morgan in Scotland was peculiar to Moray and Buchan, but reappeared in Sutherland at a

later period. The question we have now to face is, how did the Clan Morgan, of whom we got a glimpse in the north-east of Scotland, about 1133, reappear afterwards in distant Strathnaver, and there continue to be known by exactly the same title? We believe the solution of the problem is to be found in the transportation of the Moraymen about 1160, in consequence of their continued rebellion culminating in that of Malcolm MacHeth, 1st Earl of Ross, their leading representative, of which more anon. This also is the position taken up in the *Blk. MS.*, which we shall consider immediately. And if our surmises be correct, it can easily be understood how the MacKays, who now live in the north of Sutherland, are kindred with the Forbeses of Aberdeenshire, for the MacKays once dwelt in that neighbourhood and formed one of its leading families. FORDUN'S ANNALIA

III.- GENEALOGY OF STRATHNAVER MACKAYS.

As already stated, the early genealogy of Mackay given by Mr. MacKay of Blackcastle, in the *Blk. MS. Book*, conflicts to some extent with that given by Sir Robert Gordon in the *Earldom of Sutherland*. Table I.[1] shows the genealogy according to Sir Robert, tracing the family back to Forbes. Table II. shows that of the *Blk. MS.*, tracing the family back to Malcolm MacEth, 1st Earl of Ross, who claimed Moray and got Ross, a portion of it, settled upon him by the King. The dates in square brackets are by us. It is well known that Sir Robert gives thanes and early earls to the house of Sutherland who never existed. He also inserted two earls in more modern times, John and Nicolas, the 8th and 9th respectively, who are discarded as non-existent by Sir Wm. Fraser in the *Sutherland Book*. These mistakes, and perhaps they are not to be wondered at, in giving the genealogy of the house whose history he was specially recording, prepare us to expect even greater errors in recording the genealogy of a family which found scant grace in his eyes.

1. See Comparative Genealogies, p. 17.

But the question arises, what value are we to attach to the genealogy in the *Blk. MS.?* It all depends upon the value of the old MS. family genealogy which he weaves into his biographical and genealogical account of the MacKays. That earlier MS. is not before us, and consequently we are at some disadvantage in discussing the matter. We can say this, however, that we have found the Blackcastle account, in as far as it is based on this older MS., invariably accurate as far as we could test it. Blackcastle states certain facts based upon the earlier MS., which happen to be confirmed on an examination of the public records by us. Of the battle of Druim nan coup, which Sir Robert Gordon dates 1427 or 1429, the *Blk. MS.* says, "in an old family manuscript the date of this engagement is stated as above in 1433.' It turns out that Neil Neilson MacKay, one of the leaders who fell in this battle, had lands conferred upon him by the King as late as 1430, so that clearly in this instance the old family manuscript is the more accurate of the two. It also records that Iye Du of Strathnaver joined the Macintoshes and others in support of Queen Mary in 1562, captured Inverness, and marched with her Majesty to Aberdeen. It turns out that at the very time Mary returned to Aberdeen, she granted a remission to the said Iye for certain offences committed by him at an earlier period. Other instances might be given here, and shall be given hereafter, but these will suffice meantime to show that there was something in this old family MS.

Reg. Mag. Sig. Vol. III. No. 64.

Reg. Sec. Sig. 43: 10.

When MacKay of Blackcastle endeavours to explain certain matters he sometimes, but not often, seriously blunders. He confounds Malcolm MacEth with Farquhar Macintaggart, who was of quite a different family, and no connection of Malcolm. This led him into a quagmire at the start. He constantly alters Iye into Hugh, because "Aodh is translated Hugh by O'Flaharty and all the Irish writers." He falls into an evident mistake when he makes it appear that Gilchrist was the son of Iye Mor II., and draws the line of descent through the said Gilchrist. We have no difficulty, however,

in seeing how he fell into this mistake, and he is candid enough to tell us that it was a theory of his own. On 31st Mar. 1329 King Robert II. granted a Charter of Confirmation of Lands in Kintyre to APPENDIX No. I.

COMPARATIVE GENEALOGIES.

TABLE I.

I. Walter m. a dr. of Bishop of Caithness.

II. Martin k. at Kinloch Eylk.

III. Magnus died on Strathnaver.

IV. Morgan — Farquhar

a quo Clan Farquhar MacKay.

V. Donald m. dr. of Y mac Neil of Gigha.

VI. Iye k. at Dingwall 1395 by Nicolas Earl of Suthr.

VII. Donald k. at Dingwall 1395 along with his father Iye.

VIII. Angus m. dr. of Mac-Leod of Lewis. — Hutcheon Du. — Neil — Martin.

a quo Galloway MacKays.

IX. Angus Du fought at Dingwall 1411. — Rorie Gald k. at Dingwall 1411.

TABLE II.

; descended of Malcolm Earl of Ross, first to settle in Strathnaver. b. 1210

II. Iye Mor m. dr. of Walter bishop of Caithness. 1263 c. — Morgan — Martin

a quo Galloway MacKay.

III. Donald b. 1264. — Gilchrist.

IV. Iye k. at Dingwall 1370 by Nicolas of Moray. — Gilchrist.

V. Donald k. at Dingwall 1370 along with his father Iye. — Farquhar.

a quo Clan Farquhar.

VI. Angus — and others.

VII. Angus Du fought at Dingwall 1411. — Rorie Gald k. at Dingwall 1411.

"Gilchrist mac Ymar McAy," to be held by the said Gilchrist, and afterwards by his younger son Gilchrist and his heirs, whom failing by Ymar the elder son and his heirs. He concluded, through lack of

an adequate knowledge of Gaelic, that Ymar was a mode of spelling Iye Mor, and that Ymar, the father of Gilchrist, was none other than Iye Mor II. He also concluded that as Gilchrist the younger was designated his father's heir in Kintyre, the elder Ymar must have been passed over because he succeeded his supposed uncle, Donald III.; and that in Ymar, the son of Gilchrist, we have none other than Iye IV. who was killed at Dingwall in 1370. This acknowledged theory is utterly wrong. Ymar is a mode of spelling Ivor, without a doubt. It is possible that the said Ivor was a son of Iye I., but we have no means of connecting them. If we blot out this interpolated and acknowledged theory, Donald III. is succeeded by his son Iye IV., and the two tables in direct descent practically agree thenceforward.

Let us now compare the two tables a little more closely. Sir Robert Gordon, as Table I. shows, says that a certain Walter married the daughter of a nameless bishop of Caithness, and that from this union the Strathnaver MacKays took their descent; whereas Table II. says that an Iye Mor married the daughter of a Walter, Bishop of Caithness. Now, it so happens that a Walter de Baltrodi became 6th bishop of the see of Caithness in 1263. Here we have something definite to go upon. Table I. leaves us in the clouds, but Table II. gives us some foot-hold on facts. That the compiler of the earlier family account knew nothing of de Baltrodi is some confirmation of the accuracy of his genealogy.

THEINER'S *Mon. Vetera.*

There is a striking discrepancy between Tables I. and II. in the position which they respectively assign to Farquhar, the progenitor of the Clan vic Farquhar. In Table I. Farquhar is represented as being the great-great-great-granduncle of Angus Du; in Table II. he is made to appear as the granduncle of the said Angus. Farquhar, as placed in Table I., was too far removed for Sir Robert to know much about him, but as placed in Table II. lingering traditions of him might survive. Nay more, the *Reay Papers* show that Farquhar of Table II. is correctly placed. Among these papers there is a Charter of

Confirmation by King Robert II. (4th Sept. 1379) of a gift by his son Alexander, lord of Badenoch, of the lands of Hope and Melness, in the parish of Durness, to Farquhar, a physician, and another charter by the same king (31st Dec. 1386) bestowing on the said Farquhar all the islands lying between the Stoirhead of Assint and the Aird of Farr. The dates of these charters correspond with the position assigned to Farquhar in Table II., and prove that Table I. is far astray on this particular point. APPENDIX No. II., III.

Donald MacCorrichie, "a descendant of Farquhar," sold these lands of Hope and Melness to Iye Roy and his son John (30th Sep. 1511), but retained the islands. William McCallan, a descendant of McCorrichie, sold these islands to Sir Donald MacKay, afterwards 1st Lord Reay, on the 6th Oct. 1624. The said Wm. McCallan had a brother Angus, whose son Wm. macAngus McCallan had some rights over Strathan-Melness, as appears from a sasine of these lands dated 11th Apr. 1670. The son and heir of the latter William had a precept of clare constat, on the 23rd Apr. 1686, as "William mac-William mac-Angus alias McKy," in order to secure a legal title to the lands of Strathan-Melness.[1] Thus we see that what appeared as simply Farquhar in 1379 blossoms, in his descendant of 1686, into the full-blown "alias McKay," proving amply that Farquhar was a MacKay, and that Table II. is correct. APP. No. IX.

The descent from the Earl of Ross claimed in Table II. is further corroborated by the fact that the MacKays had interests in Ross from a very early date. In 1430 King James I. gave to Neil Neilson the lands of Creich in Sutherland, and those of Gairloch, etc., in Ross, as formerly possessed by his brother Thomas MacKay, a cousin of Angus Du. Sir Robert informs us that Angus Du opposed the Lord of the Isles at Dingwall in 1411, because the said Lord had molested some of Angus' people in Ross. Both these facts clearly show that the MacKays of that period had some hold upon lands Ross. And Hector Boece records that Angus Duff "tuk an gret prey of gudis ORIG. PAR. SCOT.

1. Various documents in the *Reay Papers* show the facts to be as stated by us above.

out of Murray," which shows the length of his arm and his connection with that quarter. For the cumulative reasons given above, we consider the genealogy of Table II. by far the more accurate of the two on the points in dispute between them, with the exception of the descent through Gilchrist as already explained, and consequently accept the *Blk. MS.* account of the early descent in preference to that of Sir Robert Gordon.

IV.—THE MAC-ETHS OF MORAY

Between the rulers of Moray and the kings of Scotland there was a long and bitter conflict, which arose apparently out of a claim by the former to the Crown. On the death of Malcolm II. about 1034, the descendants of Kenneth Mac Alpin, the founder of the Scottish dynasty, became extinct in the male line. The next king was Duncan, son of Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld, by his wife a daughter of Malcolm II. To secure Duncan's succession, Malcolm before his death passed a special ordinance making heirs in the female line eligible, and at the same time took the precaution of slaying the rightful male heir, a son of his brother Boete. Gruoch, however, a daughter of Boete was married to Macbeth, the powerful mormaer of Moray; and King Duncan, Malcolm's grandson, found it necessary or wise to endow Macbeth with a considerable amount of power. When the arms of Duncan suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Thorfin the Norseman, Macbeth not only deserted his cause, but turned upon him and slew him. The children of King Duncan fled into England, and Macbeth became king of Scots, a position which he occupied for no less than seventeen years. That he reigned so long implies that his right to the throne, through his wife Gruoch, was acknowledged by a considerable body of the people. It is now universally acknowledged by modern historians that Shakespeare, the dramatist, did not do justice

to Macbeth and his lady. They were not the cruel, ambitious couple he represents them; and if they slew King Duncan, the grandson of Malcolm II., they were avenging Malcolm's cold-blooded murder of Lady Macbeth's brother, the rightful heir.

In the meantime Lulach,[1] a second cousin of Macbeth, and, as some hold, the son of Gruoch by a former husband, became mormaer of Moray. Eventually Malcolm (afterwards known as Malcolm III. or Canmore), the son of the slain Duncan, returned from England and with English help overthrew and slew Macbeth at Lumphanan in 1057, after three years' fighting. But the supporters of Macbeth were not utterly crushed. They now set up as king of Scots, Lulach, Mormaer of Moray, who had a claim to the throne through his mother, a daughter or granddaughter of Boete. Lulach, however, was not able to withstand the victorious Canmore for more than seven months, and fell in battle 17th Mar. 1058, leaving a son Maelsnectan who became mormaer of Moray, and a daughter who married Aed, afterwards mormaer of the same province. In 1078 Malcolm Canmore again turned his attention to the Moraymen, administered some punishment and secured some spoil, but Maelsnectan managed to keep up the fight till he died in 1085.

The next Earl[2] of Moray was Aed, who married the daughter of Lulach. Little is known of Aed. He is identified as the Earl Aed who witnessed charters by King David I., son of Malcolm III. Whatever he may have been during the chequered years which immediately followed the death of Canmore, the fact that he witnessed royal charters later on may indicate that he lived at peace with King David. He also appears to have become Earl of Moray in virtue of his marriage with Lulach's daughter, and may have sprung from a collateral noble family of Moray. He was succeeded

Robertson's *Scotland*.

1. Lulach was the son of Gillicomgan, the son of Maelbridge, the son of Ruadri, the son of Donald, the son of Morgan; and Macbeth was the son of Finnlaeic, the son of Ruadri, the son of Donald, the son of Morgan. Macbeth and Lulach were thus first and second cousins. See [illegible] logies of the Highland Clans in *Col. de rebus Alb.*

2. About this time the old Gaelic title Mormaer was replaced by the Saxon title Earl

by his son Angus, who again raised the standard of revolt and renewed the old conflict. The occasion of it was as follows:—David I. became unpopular among his Celtic subjects owing to his introduction of feudalism from England. A nephew of his, Malcolm, counting on the support of the disaffected, endeavoured to wrest the sceptre from his uncle the king, and found Angus, Earl of Moray, only too ready to join. But with English aid David was enabled to overcome this formidable combination at Strathcathro, Forfar, in 1130, where there "fell 1000 of the men of Moray with their King Oengus, son of the daughter of Lulach." The title Earl of Moray was suppressed on the death of Angus, and was not again revived until King Robert the Bruce bestowed it upon his nephew Randolph.

ANNALS OF ULSTER.

After the fall of Angus, his son Malcolm MacEth fled to the western isles, where he was beyond the power of the Scots king among a people who owned allegiance to the Norse crown, and gathered strength to recover his lost province. It is impossible to give a correct account of his doings, as they are inextricably mixed up with those of a cleric of the name of Wymund, Bishop of Man, who about the same time made insurrection and claimed to be a descendent of the house of Moray. Somerled, regulus of Argyle, espoused the cause of MacEth and gave him his sister in marriage. About 1134 he took the field, and seems to have carried on a system of guerilla warfare for a considerable time, retiring to the mountains when hard pressed, but returning again and again to the conflict and appearing in most unexpected places. After giving an immense amount of trouble, he was captured in Galloway with English assistance, and imprisoned in Roxburgh tower about 1137. Robert de Brus, in his reported speech before the battle of the Standard in 1138, reminds King David how he was supported by the English the previous year, against "Malcolm, heir of his father's hate and persecution." But this did not end the struggle, nor was it the end of MacEth.

AUBREY DE VERE.

On the death of David I., his grandson Malcolm IV. succeeded in

1153; and again we hear that the sons of Malcolm MacEth, supported by their uncle, Somerled, took up arms and "caused disturbance throughout a great part of Scotland." Donald, son of Malcolm MacEth, was captured at Witherne in Galloway (1156), and imprisoned along with his father in Roxburgh tower. The warfare, however, was continued by the MacEths and Somerled until the following year, when the king found it good policy to set Malcolm MacEth at liberty and "gave him a certain province, which suspended the incursion he had instigated," as William of Newburgh informs us. The province bestowed upon Malcolm MacEth was Ross. About this time we find him witnessing a charter by Malcolm IV. to the monastery of Dunfermline, as "Malcolm Mac Eth." The earldom of Ross, however, was but the north-eastern portion of the province of Moray, and as MacEth considered himself entitled to the patrimony of his ancestors, he naturally felt discontented, and renewed the struggle to his own undoing. In the ensuing tumult MacEth was at last overcome, captured, and blinded, about the year 1160. Then King Malcolm IV. in sheer desperation determined to remove the Moray supporters of MacEth, and to plant the province with a people loyal to his throne. Fordun thus describes the event in his *Annalia*, of which we give the English translation:—

"At this time the rebel nation of the Moraymen, whose former lord, the Earl Angus, had been killed by the Scots, would, for neither prayers nor bribes, neither treaties nor oaths, leave off their disloyal ways, or their ravages among their fellow-countrymen. So having gathered a large army, the king removed them all from the land of their birth, as of old Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, had dealt with the Jews, and scattered them throughout the other districts of Scotland, both beyond the hills and this side thereof, so that even not one native of that land abode there, and he installed therein his own peaceful people."

As is customary with early ecclesiastical writers, Fordun does not do justice to the claims, rights, and virtues of the Moraymen in his zeal for the Crown. We must not conclude that they were by any

means less virtuous than their contemporaries, although they were unfortunately in conflict with the Crown.

In consequence of this treatment many of the Moraymen, and among them the Clan Morgan, fled northward over the hills of Ross into Strathnaver, where the Norsemen gave them shelter; others found a refuge in Argyle and the Isles, beyond the king's power, whence came the Bute, Kintyre, and Islay MacKays: while some fled to the wilds of Galloway, then also under the Norse sway, and founded there a branch of the family. Those who settled in the Strathnaver valleys would receive a kindly welcome from Harold, the Norse earl of Caithness, whose interest it was to befriend the enemies of the Scots king. And they certainly had a good friend in Harold's wife, Gormlath, blue-eyes, the daughter of Malcolm MacEth, who as might be expected hated the Crown so cordially that King William, when making terms with Harold in 1196, endeavoured to stipulate, but in vain, that the earl should put her away. If our theory as to the Moddan family be correct, that they were a people of Moray extraction who found it to their interest to ally themselves with the Norsemen, it is natural to conclude that the Moddans also assisted the MacEths under the influence of Harold, who was himself a great-grandson of Moddan through his daughter Helga. It is even possible that the Moddan and MacEth families eventually merged into one people through marriage.

Chron. Roger de Hoveden.

Fordun's statement, that the royal policy was to plant strangers in Moray, is supported from other sources of information. About this time Berowaldus, a native of Freisland, appears in the *Cartulary of Moray* as a holder of land in that province, and so does Freskin the progenitor of the house of Moray. Chalmers derives Freskin also from Fresia, and Cosmo Innes in the introduction to the *Cartulary of Moray* approves of that view. But that as it may, the application of this policy extended northwards as the king's enemies fell back, and Freskin's son, Hugo, thus came to have landed rights in south Sutherland. For two generations thereafter, and possibly for three, the

Cartulary.

descendants of Hugo continued to reside in Moray; their hold on Suderland was anything but secure until Earl William married the daughter of King Robert the Bruce. It is very evident that the Freskin family obtained its title and possession in Suderland as a reward for helping to curb the turbulence of the northern peoples, both Celtic and Norse. INTROD. CART MOR. AND HAILES ANNALS

In 1179 William the Lyon, brother and successor of Malcolm IV., finding the people of Ross turbulent, marched thither with a large army, inflicted some punishment and built two fortified places in Ardmanach, or the Black Isle. Again in 1196 William pursued his enemies into the province of Caithness, which at that time included the present counties of Caithness and Sutherland. Fordun describes the incident thus:—

"In that year (1196) there was so grevious a famine that men were starving everywhere. That same year king William led an army into Caithness. Crossing the river Oikel, he killed some of the disturbers of the peace, and bowed to his will both provinces of the Caithnessmen, (utramque provinciam Catenensium voluntati suae subegit) routing Harold the earl thereof, until then a good man and trusty but at that time goaded on by his wife, the daughter of MacEth."

There are traces of that royal visit yet, both on the hill-sides and in the traditions of the people. Near the top of Strathnaver there is an old battle-field strewn with tumuli, called Dall-Harrold, and overlooking the field is a small eminence, Cnoc Ri, king's hill, whence the king is said to have directed operations. Harold fell back down the strath and made his final stand on Fiscary hill, overlooking the township of Farr. His battle front, as the abounding tumuli show, extended for about a mile and a half east and west, his right wing rested on the spur above Crask, and his left on the rocks above the Swordly valley. His left face was covered by Loch Salchie, and from thence to the right there was a good deal of soft ground over which his assailants had to advance to the attack. The position was very strong, with Borve Castle on the sea-rocks about two miles to the rear; but King William was not to be denied. After fighting of the

fiercest character—the ground is literally covered with graves—Harold was routed and driven to the sea. Some of the survivors fled to their boats in Rhiv.ad bay, about a mile east of Borve, as the gruesome trail of graves, which becomes a perfect cemetery above the landing place, shows. They must have fought desperately there cover the embarkation of the survivors. Others may have fled Borve Castle, an impregnable fortress perched upon a high rocky isthmus. We have ourselves seen a sword dug out of the Fiscary moss, with the characteristic Norse hilt, a relic of that bloody battle. Harold, however, and his followers continued to maintain the struggle for some time longer in Caithness, Ross, and Moray, as Fordun proceeds to show.

In 1214 Alexander II. succeeded his father, William the Lyon, and the very next year the family of MacWilliam, who laid some claim to the throne of Scotland, together with the family of MacEth, burst into the province of Moray at the head of a large army. They were opposed by Farquhar mac in Tagart: and Kenneth MacEth, whom we take to be a grandson of Malcolm MacEth, lost his life in this struggle. It is very probable that the MacEths so designated themselves to perpetuate in this way their claim to the earldom of Moray, as descended of Aed, [illegible] ried the daughter of J alach. In 1223 we find the disaffected [illegible] fighting, and now the scene of conflict is again Strathnaver.

BALFOUR'S *Annals*, Vol. I.

"This year (1223) also king Alexander levies an army and takes Gilespick and his three sons, with Roderick, the remaining firebrands of MacWilliam's rebellion in Strathnawerne, and hangs them with diverse of their followers on gibbets."

The Scottish annalists persistently record very little more than their defeats, but we feel sure that a race, who fought so determinedly as the MacEths did for over 130 years against the kings of Scotland, won battles as well as lost them. In fighting against the Crown they were practically fighting against fate, which fortunately destined the consolidation of Scotland into a homogeneous nation, the common

heritage of Celt, Saxon, and Norseman. The following presents in tabular form the descent of the MacEths from Aed their progenitor:—

I. Aed Earl of Moray, m. dr. of Lulach, c. 1085.

II. Angus Earl of Moray, k. 1130.

III. Malcolm MacEth, Earl of Ross, m. sister of Somerled. Lost Ross c. 1160.

IV. Donald MacEth captured in Galloway, 1156 — Gormlath m. Harold Earl of Caithness.

V. Kenneth MacEth, son or nephew of Donald, k. 1215.

A quo the Mackays of Strathnaver.

V. STRATHNAVER.

At present, by Strathnaver is meant the strath along the river Naver from Lochnaver to the sea, but at an earlier period it was the name of an extensive tract of country in the north western quarter of the province of Caithness. In the tract *De situ Albani* (1165) it is stated, upon the authority of Andrew, Bishop of Caithness, that this province was the seventh in Scotland and was divided in the midst by the range of the Ord mountains.[1] That is to say the range which runs from Helmsdale to Cape Wrath divided the province in two. In the *Brevis descriptio Regni Scotii* (1292), Caithness is described as 24 leagues in length by 40 in breadth.[2] On an examination of the

1. Septima enim pars et Cathavesia citra montem et ultra montem, quia mons Mound dividit Cathanesiam. *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots.*

2. Deinde est terra de Cateneys longitudinem XXIIII. leucarum et latitudinem XL.—*Chronicles of the Picts and Scots.*

map it will be seen that the distance between John O'Groat's in the north and Creich in the south, its length, is to the distance between John O'Groat's and Cape Wrath, its breadth, as 24 is to 40. When Bishop Gilbert divided the diocese of the province into its fourteen parishes about 1225, it consisted practically of what are now known as the counties of Caithness and Sutherland, with the exception of the parish of Assint which pertained to the province of Ross. In course of time the name Caithness came to be applied to that part now called the county of Caithness; the parishes of Kildonan, Loth, Golspie, Rogart, Lairg, Creich, and Dornoch were embraced in the geographical unit Suderland, the south-land; and Edderachilis, Durness, Kintail of Tongue, and Farr, the old *dolum Cathanensi*, formed the unit Strathnaver, while Assint formed part of Ross.[1]

Orig. Par. Scot.

In the contract between King Charles I. and John, Earl of Sutherland, for the resignation of the regality of Sutherland, dated 18th July, 1631, the eastern boundary of Strathnaver at the north sea is described as being "the strip called Fae-Halladale which divides Strathnaver from Caithness." This Fae runs along Drumholstein overlooking the valley of Halladale, and is to this day the march between Caithness and Strathnaver, or what is now sometimes called the land of MacKay. Cordiner, in his letters of 1776, states that he entered Strathnaver shortly after leaving Sandside, on his way to Bighouse at the foot of the Halladale valley. It is thus made clear that the eastern boundary of Strathnaver is Drumholstein. The western boundary is the march between Assint and Edderachilis. Hector Boece, whose history of Scotland was published in 1526, describes the western boundary thus:—"merchant with Ross lyis Stranavern, the outmaist boundis of Scotland: of quhilk the se cost lyis north-north-west, and crukis in agane sometime fornens Almani

Deeds and Documents.

1. Strathnaver is the Nabarus of Ptolmey's map. Farr, Farrar, and Farr, the two latter in Inverness-shire, come from the same root, which is probably Pictish. Assint derives its name from St. Assin, a Columban, who had dedications in Skye, Easter-Ross, etc. Edderachilis means between the two kyles. Durness, which appears under the forms Diurness, Deerness, etc., is a Norse word. Tongue is Norse, a tongue. Kintail is a Gaelic compound, ceann sail, head of the salt water.

[Minch] seis." Hollinshead's *Chronicles*, dated about 1572, state, "next unto the said Ros lieth Stranawrne, as the uttermost region of Scotland, the coasts whereof abutting for a while upon the Deucalidon sea" [Minch]. Various old maps also show Strathnaver marching on the west coast with Assint, the northmost part of Ross at an early period.

In the Charter of Regality by James VI. to the Earl of Sutherland, 29th Apr. 1601, the lands of Eriboll and Strathmore in Durness, and also the lands of Edderachilis, are described as "lying in Strathnaver." In the Disposition by Donald, Lord Reay, to Hugh MacKay of Scoury, the 27th June 1634, of the lands of Kylestrome, Douartmoir, Douartbeg, Geiskill, Badcall, Skouriemoir, Skouriebeg, Tarbat, etc., these places are described as "the said lands of Edderachilis . . . . . all lyand within the parochin of Ardierurness in Strathnaver." In the agreement of 1638 between John, bishop of Caithness, and Lord Reay for the erection of the parish of Kintail, Durness is described as a part of the "countrie of Strathnaver." In various documents among the *Reay Papers* lands in Edderachilis and Durness are said to lie in Strathnaver, and nothing to the contrary is ever met with in any of these papers. Sir Robert Gordon, however, repeatedly and persistently says, without giving any authority whatever, that Edderachilis and Durness were not parts of Strathnaver, and that Strathnaver was practically limited to the parish of Farr. Sir Robert had an evident motive in so saying: he sought to lessen the importance of the territorial designation "MacKay of Strathnaver." It is ever so with Sir Robert; but the facts given by us, and to which we could add considerably by quotations from documents among the papers of the Reay family, are all against him.

DATES AND DOCUMENTS.

REAY PAPERS.

EARLD OF SUTHR.

The boastful supercilious tone of the *Earldom of Sutherland* is unfortunately adopted in *Dates and Documents, etc., of Sutherland* (1852), by Mr. James Loch, commissioner to the Duke of Sutherland. In the latter book the charter of regality given by King James to the Earl of Sutherland in 1601, in which the lands of Strathnaver were

included, is printed off with great eclat: although it is well known since the Sutherland peerage case that this charter of regality was granted by the king, on the representation that the Sutherland family is lineally descended from Margaret, daughter of King Robert Bruce. As the only son of this marriage died without issue, the 1601 charter of regality to Sutherland, which involved superiority over MacKay, was obtained upon a false statement. Mr. Loch, who knew this well, might have fluttered the said charter with a little less air of triumph. In the same book Mr. Loch, after noticing the charter of King James IV. to Iye Roy MacKay of 4th Nov. 1499, proceeds, "after this date the family of MacKay are generally styled *of* Strathnaver, having been previously styled *in* Strathnaver." This emphatic statement is not only uncalled for, but is at the same time notoriously *untrue*. The said Iye MacKay had a Precept from the said king, dated 13th July 1496, in which he is designed "Odo McKy de Straithnauer." Eighty years earlier still, Angus Du MacKay, in the charter of 1415 by Donald Lord of the Isles, is styled "de Strathnawir." And again in 1427, when Angus appeared before the king at Inverness, he is called Angus Duf or Makgye of Straithnavern. This system of glorifying one family at the expense of another is not only unfair, but is sure to provoke reprisals. *The Book of Sutherland* (3 Vols., 1892), by Sir Wm. Fraser, is written in an excellent spirit as might be expected from this well-known author; and he has often to contradict the partisan statements, as well as to condemn the tone of Sir Robert Gordon, whom Mr. Loch unhappily aspired to emulate.

APPENDIX No. 1

BOWAR

In 1539 the king granted in heritage to Donald MacKay the lands of Strathnaver, together with Dirlet, Cattack, and Broinach all in Caithness, Kilcalumkill of Strabrora, Kinald, and Golspie in Sutherland: when all these lands were erected into the free barony of Farr. From that date till the family was dignified, the chiefs of MacKay were sometimes designated of Farr, and sometimes of Strathnaver.

ORIG. PAR. SCOT. II., 70 71.

Durness, says Sir Robert Gordon, "is not a portion of Strathnaver,

neither hath MacKay as yet the heritable right thereof . . . . . Duirness is the bishop of Catheyness his propertie, and was given of late in feu by the bishops of that diocie to the Erles of Sutherland." Sir Robert takes several liberties with truth in this quotation, but we shall only refer to one of them meantime. Durness was not the property of the bishop of Caithness, but the church owned fifteen davochs of land in the said parish, viz., Gauldwall, Keoldale, Cranega, Borley, Slanis, Alshermor, Alsherbeg, Sandwood, Carrowgarve, and Carnnmannach. This is but a mere fraction of the extensive parish of Durness, and any claim which the Earl of Sutherland may have acquired to this portion, he obtained from his brother-in-law, Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, afterwards Earl of Lennox, whose sister Eleanor became the second wife of Sutherland. To legalise this marriage a dispensation from the Pope had to be obtained, as Lady Eleanor had a bastard son some time previously. The Sutherland family often found Papal dispensations handy, while on the other hand the MacKays neglected to make use of what would have often saved them from a deal of trouble. Of this marriage Sir Wm. Fraser says, "the church lands of Caithness were at this time somewhat a bone of contention among the neighbouring landowners, and probably this fact had some influence in the promotion of the marriage."

Reay Papers & Orig. Pap. Scot. II. 70.

Sutherland Book I. 105.

The earliest holder of land in Strathnaver of whom we have documentary evidence was Lady Joanna de Strathnaver, who bestowed the lands of Langdale, Rossal, the Tofts of Dovyr, Achness, Clibrig, Ardovyr, Corynafearn, and four other davochs of land in Strathnaver, on the church of Moray. This lady was dead before 1269. She married Freskin de Moravia, and bore him a daughter who married Reginald Chein. The said daughter eventually brought these lands to her husband Chein. These lands are frequently designated in the earlier documents among the *Reay Papers* as Kerrow na Shein, Chein's quarter. Dr. Skene surmised that Lady Joanna was a daughter of Earl John, son of Harold Madadson of Caithness, and that she was a hostage of the king who gave her in marriage to

Cart. Mor. No. [illegible]

Freskin de Moray. Sir Wm. Fraser shows that this could not be: Matilda was the name of the hostage daughter of the Earl of Caithness. Who Joanna was we cannot say; but there is no doubt that the de Morays tried to get a grip of lands in these quarters by this marriage, and it is clear that for some generations the said lands were a bone of contention between the Moray of Duffus and MacKay families.

On the north coast of Strathnaver there are three islands in close proximity. Isle Colme lies on the west side of Naver bay, and had once an extensive Columban ecclesiastical establishment. Close by, and further west, lies Rona isle, which also had an ecclesiastical institution dedicated to St. Rona, as its name implies. Still further west, and lying athwart the bay of Tongue, is Ellan nan Gall, island of the strangers. It was from these islands that the Columbans endeavoured to christianise Strathnaver in early times, and these institutions lying close by the Naver bay indicate not only the comparative importance of the place, but may also serve to show how one strath came to give its name to a whole territory. But why two ecclesiastical institutions so close to one another as those on the islands Colme and Rona? They were rival institutions. Dr. Maclauchlan in his *Early Scottish Church* and Dr. Skene in his *Celtic Scotland* show that about 720 A.D. a schism took place in the church of Iona, one party cleaving to the old way, and the other party, headed by St. Ronan, diverging Romewards. The division in course of time became so pronounced that rival establishments were set up in close proximity to the older ones by the followers of St. Ronan. Thus, close by the mouth of the Naver, the Columbans held forth on one island and the Romish Ronans held forth on the other.

On the east bank of the Naver, and about half a mile from the sea, stood once the strongly fortified Tor an Tigh vor, the Bighouse heap. About half a mile further up, and on the opposite side, there was once the flourishing Balmargait, Margaret's town. Just below this town the river forms into the deep sheltered lagoon, Pol na

Marraich mor, the Lagoon of the great Seamen, where the boats of the Norsemen were wont to lie in safety. On a rock, Ca an Duin, above the town may be seen the ruins of a round-tower; and in the year 1900, after a severe storm which blew away the sand, the present writer was able to trace at least four similar round-towers placed in various positions around, and presumably for the defence of the said town. The ruins of Balmargait and the institutions on the islands in the neighbourhood already referred to, clearly indicate that there was once upon a time more life along the valley of the Naver than there is now.

I. Iye MacEth.

B. 1210, c.

As the son of Iye MacEth married the daughter of Walter, Bishop of Caithness, somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1263, it is reasonable to conclude that the father was over fifty years of age at the time of the son's marriage, especially seeing that the son was then old enough to act the part of chamberlain to the bishop. We have therefore fixed the date of Iye MacEth's birth as about 1210. But Kenneth, the leading representative of the MacEth family, fell in 1215, as already shown, so that as far as dates are concerned, Iye MacEth may have been his son or his nephew—from lack of evidence on the point, we cannot be more definite. This descent would make Iye MacEth the great-grandson of Malcolm MacEth, Earl of Ross, but whether through Kenneth or not remains uncertain. That he was a descendant of Malcolm, Earl of Ross, and the first of the family to settle permanently in Strathnaver, is all that the old family MS. account, on which the *Blk. MS.* bases its genealogy, seems to have recorded.

In our introductory chapter we briefly showed how Malcolm IV., King of Scots, his brother William the Lyon, and Alexander II., son of the latter, assailed the MacEths, until in 1215 Kenneth MacEth was slain by Farquhar MacIntaggart, afterwards Earl of Ross; and we also showed how King Alexander pursued the rebellious ones to

Strathnaver in 1223. The reign of Alexander II. was marked by great vigour. Caithness, Galloway, Argyle, and even the western isles, the quarters in which his sovereignty was disputed, he repeatedly attacked with wisdom and energy. Of some he took hostages, the lands of others he bestowed upon his own friends. In 1249 he made his last effort. With a large army he invaded Argyle, collected ships and prepared to sweep the Norseman from the western isles, vowing "that he would not desist until he had set his standards east on the cliffs of Thurso." Before he had practically begun operations, he was seized with illness and died, leaving his son and successor, Alexander III., a minor of only eight years of age. During the long minority of Alexander III., the reins of government naturally fell loose, and Iye MacEth managed to secure some foot-hold in Strathnaver.

FORDUN'S *Continuat.*

CHRON. OF MAN.

The known issue of Iye MacEth was three sons.

i. Iye Mor who succeeded, and of whom an account follows.

ii. Morgan, of whom nothing further is recorded.

iii. Martin, who is said to have settled in Galloway. It is pertinent to observe that years before this date the MacEths are found fighting in Galloway, and that Donald the son of Earl Malcolm was captured there. Owing to Norse influence in Galloway, the Isles, and Caithness, the adherents of the various rulers in these quarters passed to and fro. In the MS. of Andrew Symson, preserved in the Advocates' Library, the Mackies are said to have been in Galloway in the time of King Robert Bruce, and to have supported his cause. In 1339 Michael MacGe, a land-holder in Galloway, submitted to Edward III. of England. As evidence of the supposed connection between the Mackays of Strathnaver and the Mackies of Galloway, we may mention that Sir Patrick Mackie of Lairg in Galloway led a company of the regiment commanded by Sir Donald, afterwards Lord Reay, in the service of the King of Denmark.

BUK. MS.

ROTULI SCOTIÆ.

II. Iye Mor.

M. 1263, c.

IN 1263 Walter de Baltrodi, formerly a Canon of Caithness, was confirmed[1] Bishop of the diocese by Pope Urban IV. Iye Mor became chamberlain to the bishop, married his daughter, and thereby obtained considerable power in Strathnaver. It is stated in the *House of Forbes* that the bishop's son-in-law possessed himself of twelve davochs of land in Durness, and that eventually the bishop gave legal title over these lands to his grandchild. We have already shown that there is documentary evidence to prove that the church of Caithness owned fifteen davochs of land in Durness. In a document describing the estate of Lord Reay (1797), preserved among the *Reay Papers*, we read, "Durness is a dry pretty spot; the soil sandy, well peopled for its extent. It lies upon a bed of limestone which is here found in the greatest abundance. It is considered the best grass and pasture ground in the north of Scotland, and it was of old the bishop of Caithness' sheiling or pasture farm." APPENDIX No. 57.

1. The document of confirmation, which is dated June 1263, proceeds:—"Verum quia dictus Walterus de honestate vite, grata morum decentia, dono scientie litteralis, ac spiritualium et temporalium circumspecta prudentia laudabili testimonio commendatur: nos attendentes, quod ad personam eius vota dictorum Decani et Capituli, quibus unanime fuerat in ipsius electione propositum, concorditer congruerant considerantes etiam eiusdem ecclesie paupertatem, que in tanta locorum distantia in gravia itinerum et viarum dispendia non posset absque gravi difficultate et onere expensarum, nec non cupientes, vitare periculum, quod ex mora in talibus potest non immerito formidari, dignum duximus, ut circa provisionem ipsius ecclesie, que immediate sedi subesse dinoscitur, faciendo specialem gratiam memorato Waltero, curemus apostolice solicitudinis studium adhibere."—Theiner's *Monumenta Vetera*, No. 229.

Sir Robert Gordon says that the son-in-law of the bishop was called Walter, and the 1883 edition of the *Houss of Forbes*, from which we gave an extract in our Introductory chapter, agrees in this. But the version of the *Houss of Forbes* given in MacFarlane's *Genealogical Collections*, printed by the Scottish History Society, says that his name was John, and proceeds to say that the child 1263]

CHAPTER SEAL OF THE CHURCH OF CAITHNESS.

borne to him by the bishop's daughter "after the country fashion was called McKy which is the son of John." We believe the 1883 edition was nded to bring it into conformity with Sir Robert Gordon's account, and not so trustworthy as that of MacFarlane, which was copied out about 1750 by an acknowledged genealogist. But the phrase "McKy which is the son of John" is a manifest

1263] contradiction in terms. If the son was called Meky to indicate his father, the father's name must have been Iye. To this extent the *House of Forbes* bears out the contention of the old family MS. account, that the son-in-law of the bishop was Iye Mor.

During the minority of Alexander III., Farquhar Macintagart, Earl of Ross, harried the western isles, especially Skye. His followers not only burnt villages and sacked churches, but ferociously ripped open pregnant women and raised on their spear-points helpless infants. Hakon, King of Norway, the nominal overlord of these islands, remonstrated with King Alexander, but in vain. In the summer of 1263 Hakon sailed for Scotland with a large fleet, and after various vicissitudes came at last to grief at Largs, more by stress of weather than by the prowess of the opposing Scottish army. With the remnants of his once imposing fleet he sailed away northwards, called at Alsher on the west coast of Strathnaver, rounded Cape Wrath and came to anchor in Loch Eriboll. A party who landed at Eriboll in search of food and water were roughly handled by the natives of the place.[1] It is probable that Iye Mor took an active part in this exploit, as the Bishop of Caithness, whose chamberlain he was, owned a considerable amount of land in the neighbourhood of Loch Eriboll, and it was the duty of Iye Mor to protect it. It is also probable that this incident gave rise to the common tradition, that the Mackays obtained their first footing in Strathnaver in consequence of their prowess in opposing the Norsemen. The MacEths and the Norsemen often fought side by side, but now times were changed and they changed with them. Shortly thereafter, King Alexander for a sum of money purchased from the Norsemen any rights which they may have claimed over the western isles or other lands in Scotland, and thus settled the vexed Norse question.

CHRON. OF MAN.

TORFÆUS.

1. In Johnston's translation of *The Norwegian Account of Haco's expedition* (1782), we read that a detachment of the fleet on the outward voyage "sailed into Scotland under Dryness. They going up into the country destroyed a castle, but the garrison had fled. They burned more than twenty hamlets. Next they steered for the Hebrides." It was probably to avenge the earlier attack, that the men of Strath-Urradale fell upon Haco's foraging party on the return voyage.

A contemporary of Iye Mor was John Gruamach MacKay. Gruamach means taciturn. It is stated in the *Knock MS.* that Angus Mor of the Isles, the great-grandson of Somerled, had, by the daughter of John Gruamach MacKay, "the mother of the first laird of Macintosh; for a son of MacDuff, thane of Fife, coming after man-slaughter to shelter himself in MacDonald's house, got her daughter with child, went to Ireland with Edward Bruce, where he was killed; by which means Mackintosh is of natural descent, his progenitor being got in that manner." As Angus Mor of the Isles was present at the Scottish parliament of 1284 and died before 1300, John Gruamach MacKay must have flourished during the time of Iye Mor, but we have no means of connecting the one with the other. He may have been a brother but he cannot have been a son of Iye Mor, for according to the *Knock MS.* his grand-daughter was old enough in 1315, when Edward Bruce passed over to Ireland, to bear a son to MacDuff. Perhaps we should not say that this was impossible, but it is more likely that John Gruamach resided in the neighbourhood of Islay, the seat of Angus Mor.

Col. de Rebus Alb.

In our Introductory Chapter we noticed how Mr Mackay of Blackcastle fell into the mistake of making Gilchrist MacIvor MacIye of Kintyre a son of Iye Mor of Strathnaver, and we need not enter further into the matter here. The lands which King Robert the Bruce confirmed to Gilchrist and his heirs were the two twopenny lands in Kintyre, viz., the pennyland of Ardermede, the pennyland of Balloscalfis, the pennyland of Kyllewillan, and the pennyland of Skelkamonsky. "These lands," says Blackcastle, "lie near Campbelton in Kintyre and belong to MacNeil of Ugadale, whose ancestor, Torquil MacNeil, married about 1690 Catherine, daughter and heiress of Mackay of Ugadale."

Appendix, No. I.

The known issue of Iye Mor was Donald, of whom we now proceed to give an account.

III. Donald.

c. 1300-30.

AS Iye Mor married the daughter of Bishop Walter about 1263, we presume that Donald was born sometime between that date and 1270. He married a daughter of Iye, son of Neil of Gigha, an island lying close to the coast of Kintyre, between that and Islay. The distance to which Donald went in search of a wife, combined with the neighbourhood in which he found her, seem to indicate that there was at this time a close connection between the Mackays of Strathnaver and those of that name on the west coast of Argyle. We have found Mackays holding land in Kintyre at this early period, and there were others in the same quarter. The *Knock MS.* describing the state of matters during the time of Angus Og of the Isles, the attached friend of Robert the Bruce, proceeds:—

"The constitution or government of the Isles was thus: MacDonald had his council at Island Finlaggan, in Isla, to the number of sixteen, viz., four Thanes, four Armins, that is to say lords or sub-thanes, four Bastards, *i.e.*, squires or men of competent estates who could not come up with Armins or Thanes, that is freeholders or men that had their lands in factory, as MacGie of the Rinds of Islay, MacNicol in Portree in Skye, and MacEachern, MacKay, and MacGillevray, in Mull."

Thus we see there were contemporary with Donald of Strathnaver landed men of the name Mackay in the Rhins of Islay, in Mull, and in Kintyre; while at a little later period Mackays appear in the

registers holding lands and office in Bute. See our account of the Argyle Mackays.

It would be interesting to know what part if any Donald of Strathnaver took in the struggle for independence under Wallace and Bruce, when Scotland, Highland and Lowland, was stirred to its depths. In Hervey's *Life of Bruce*, in Gordon's *Life of Bruce*, and in General Stewart's *Sketches of the Highlanders*, the Mackays of Strathnaver are mentioned as being present at the battle of Bannockburn. We are not aware that they have substantial documentary evidence for this statement; but there is no doubt that the Mackays of Isla, Mull, etc., who were dependants of Angus Og of the Isles, supported the cause which their superior so warmly espoused. Barbour, who is a competent authority, informs us that at Bannockburn the Earl of Moray commanded the centre, Edward Bruce the right, and Sir James Douglas and Walter the Stewart commanded the left on that fateful day. The same authority states that Bruce and Angus of the Isles commanded the reserve, consisting of the men of Argyle, Carrick, Kantire, the Isles, and Bute. When Donald of Strathnaver's wife's relatives and his kinsmen of the west were ranged under the banner of Scotland's deliverer, it is very likely that the Strathnavermen were not far away although Barbour does not chronicle the fact.

BARBOUR'S *Bruce.*

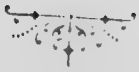
In Haddington's *Collection of Ancient Charters* (the Earl of Haddington was Lord Clerk Register for Scotland in 1[illegible]) there is the following excerpt from a charter by a King Robert to a Mackay, of which we give a translation:—

> "King Robert's charter to MacKay for attending annually at our war when it shall happen with forty days' sustenance for his armed foot men, and for performing other services as far as pertains to the said lands."

This fragment does not tell us which King Robert it was, what the lands were, nor who the Mackay that possessed them. No doubt the original charter, which cannot now be found, made all this clear;

1300-30] but as in Haddington's day the prominent family of Mackay was the Strathnaver one, he may have concluded that the bald statement "Charter to Makaj" was sufficient for the purpose of identification. The King Robert, however, may be Robert II., who was on friendly terms with the Strathnaver Mackays, as shall soon appear.

The known issue of Donald by the daughter of Iye of Gigha was a son, Iye, of whom an account now follows.



IV. Iye.

1330-70.

BETWEEN Iye of Strathnaver and the family of Sutherland there existed a protracted feud, which caused much bloodshed on either side, and occasioned the murder of Iye at Dingwall in 1370.[1] Sir Robert Gordon says, "the Earl of Sutherland had great controversy with the house and family of Mackay, chief of the Clan Vic-Morgan of Strathnaver, which did continue a long time between the inhabitants of Sutherland and Strathnaver, although with some intermission." This account exactly corroborates Earl William's complaint in 1342, when he applied to the Pope for a dispensation of marriage with Margaret Bruce, against "an ancient enemy," who caused "wars, disputes, and many offences," in these parts. In the Papal dispensation, which is given at large in Theiner's *Monumenta Vetera*, p. 278, reference is made to the application thus:—

"It sets forth that between the said Earl and Margaret and their forefathers and friends, by the wicked procuring of an ancient enemy (hostis antiqui nequitia procurante) there have arisen wars, disputes, and many offences, on which account murders, burnings, depredations, forays, and other evils have frequently happened and cease not to happen continually, and many churches of these parts have suffered no small damages, and greater troubles are expected unless prevented by an immediate remedy."

1. Sir Robert Gordon committed some mistakes in his account of this incident. He says Iye was murdered in 1335 by Nicholas, Earl of Sutherland, the predecessor of Earl Robert. But Sir Wm. Fraser shows that there was no Earl Nicholas, and that the immediate predecessor of Earl Robert was Earl William, who flourished 1333-70. Consequently, on Sir Robert's own showing, the author of this deed was Earl Wm., and it must have taken place in or before 1370.

1312] With reference to the complaint, Sir Wm. Fraser observes, "in this case it may refer to the disturbed condition of the country or perhaps of Sutherland." We believe his surmise is correct. If the Mackays are descended from Malcolm MacEth, Earl of Ross, as we contend they are, the family might well be called an "ancient enemy" who gave trouble to the Scots kings and their henchmen in the far north, the Earls of Sutherland. And according to Hailes, Cosmo Innes, etc., it was only in the second or third generation after Hugo Freskin that the family of Sutherland was able to effect a permanent settlement in Suderland—that is to say, in the days of the grandfather or father of this Earl William. From the time of this latter Earl William we have authentic evidence that the Sutherlands and Mackays were at daggers drawn; before his time the mist lies too heavy for us to know much. In the circumstances, we repeat, the family of Mackay might well be called an "ancient enemy" of the house of Sutherland.

The *Blk. MS.* reads:—

"In consequence of disputes existing at this time between the Earl of Sutherland and MacKay a meeting was agreed upon to settle the matter in dispute. The meeting took place at Dingwall in Ross in 1370, at which were present the Earl of Sutherland and his brother Nicolas, and MacKay and his son Donald, and other chieftains to act as umpires and decide in the matter submitted. MacKay was about to succeed in his claim, and the Sutherlands became so irritated and enraged that Nicolas Sutherland rose in the night-time and basely murdered MacKay and his son Donald. Nicolas leaving Dingwall Castle fled and escaped, although pursued by MacKay's attendants."

Sir Robert Gordon, whose version of the affair is in substantial agreement with the above, except in the details already pointed out, says that the meeting took place in Dingwall Castle, and that one of the arbiters was the Lord of the Isles. We may also conclude that the Earl of Ross was one of the arbiters of a case tried at his own castle, and it is not unlikely that the Earl of Buchan, justiciar for the north, would likewise be present.

We are not told what were the subjects in dispute, but we have not far to go in search of one bone of contention. On the 10th Oct. 1345 King David conferred by charter the earldom of Sutherland in regality upon William, Earl of Sutherland, and his spouse Margaret, the king's sister, and upon the legitimate heirs begotten between them (heredes inter ipsos legitime procreandi). This charter gave Earl Wm. almost kingly power in Suderland, which he would not be slow to put into execution against the "ancient enemy" of his house. Of this marriage between Earl Wm. and Margaret Bruce only one son, John, was born when Margaret died, and Wm. married a second time. As King David was childless he intended John of Sutherland to succeed him in the throne, and bestowed lands north, south, east, and west upon the Earl of Sutherland, who in turn gave many of these lands away to Scottish nobles, in order to secure their support when the time came for his son to claim the throne of Scotland. But John of Sutherland died of the plague in London, leaving no issue, shortly before the demise of his uncle the king, and the hopes of both David and the Earl of Sutherland were thus balked. By the death of his son, Sutherland's regality so far as his descendants were concerned went up in smoke—he had now no heir by Margaret to retain these charter rights.

SUTHR. BOOK II., 141.

King David, the unfortunate and worthless son of the great Bruce, died on the 22nd Feb. 1370, and was succeeded in the throne by his nephew, Robert II. It is notorious that the relations between David and his nephew, Robert, were of a strained character, partly on account of David's partiality for his nephew of Sutherland. As Robert II., though a fair and just monarch, was only human, it is natural to expect that he would make the Earl of Sutherland realise how changed his position now was. About this time the king's physician was Farquhar, the son of Iye of Strathnaver, a scion of the house of the "ancient enemy," and one who had a charter from the Earl of Buchan, confirmed by his father, the king, 4th Sep. 1379, of the lands of Melness, etc., in the parish of Durness, as "Fercardo

1370] medico nostro." With the Earl of Buchan, Robert II.'s son, justiciar of the north, it suited the royal policy to bring pressure upon the Earl of Sutherland by favouring the "ancient enemy," Mackay of Strathnaver. Although the regality of the Earl of Sutherland only extended to Suderland and did not include Strathnaver, Iye Mackay had lands in Suderland down to the borders of Ross which would be involved, as is abundantly proved by the extensive possessions of the family in these parts a generation later, when documents begin to turn up. Iye of Strathnaver, resenting the vexing claim of Sutherland's powers of regality over him, sought to have the matter submitted to arbitration in the then favourable circumstances. When he was just within sight of a favourable judgment, the knife of the assassin, Nicolas, finished the unsuspecting father and son at the dead of night in Dingwall Castle.

The claim of feudal superiority by the family of Sutherland over that of Mackay, from this date henceforward, made so unjustly, persistently, and offensively by Sir Robert Gordon, cannot be allowed to pass without further notice, because 230 years later it developed into a shameless imposition upon King James VI. On the 29th Apr. 1601 James VI. was led to give a charter to John, Earl of Sutherland, and to his heirs, by which the charter of regality granted by David II. in 1345 to the Earl of Sutherland as aforesaid was confirmed, under the impression that it was still valid, and extended now so as to include Strathnaver. That this was an imposition upon the king is proved by the fact that in the document resigning the heritable sheriffship of Sutherland, dated 26th Aug. 1631, and forming part of the regality, it is clearly stated that the charter of 1601 was given by King James under the impression that the then Earl of Sutherland was a descendant of Margaret Bruce, daughter of King Robert. Sir Wm. Fraser in the *Sutherland Book* puts it mildly when he says, "It was long a belief in the Sutherland family, which was fostered if not originated by Sir Robert Gordon, that by the marriage of Wm. 5th Earl of Sutherland to Margaret Bruce, the blood of the royal family

DATES AND DOCUMENTS.

of Bruce ran in their veins." The truth is Sir Robert was the author of a fraud in 1601. But of this matter enough anon.[1]

By this time the Clan Morgan of Strathnaver must have attained to considerable power before it could give so much trouble to Earl William of Sutherland, notwithstanding his royal backing. When the veil over early Scottish history is removed a little further, about 40 years after this date, we shall find members of the clan occupying land in Suderland and Ross, and the Chief strong enough to beard Donald, Lord of the Isles, at Dingwall. The known issue of Iye was:—

i. Donald, who was killed along with his father at Dingwall Castle, and of whom a short account follows.

ii. Farquhar,[2] who was a physician to King Robert II. and in favour with the King's son, the Earl of Buchan. In the old family MS. account he is claimed as a son of Iye: and in our Introductory chapter we have shown by documentary evidence how his descendants signed themselves Mackay. He obtained by royal charter the lands of Melness, Hope, etc., in 1379, and the islands lying round Strathnaver in 1386.

The writer of the *Old Statistical Account* of the parish of Edderachilis asserts, without giving any reason but tradition, that Farquhar was a Beaton and a native of Islay. He also gives a very incorrect account of the manner in which his lands were secured by the leading family of Mackay. This tradition probably developed from the fact that a Beaton was physician to James VI., as the inscription on the said Beaton's tombstone in Iona, dated 1657, shows.

SUTHR. BOOK. Vol. I.

iii. Mariota, who was the handfasted wife of the Earl of Buchan, popularly known as the "Wolf of Badenoch," and the mother of his children. We are strongly inclined to believe that "Mariota filia Athyn" was the daughter of Iye of Strathnaver, and that

1. We shall in the proper place show how George, 5th Earl of Huntly, chancellor of Scotland, obtained the superiority of Strathnaver in 1567 from Queen Mary in a very left-handed way, to say the least of it: and how the 6th Earl of Huntly gave the superiority of Strathnaver to his uncle, the Earl of Sutherland, in exchange for the lands of Aboyne in 1588. In 1601 the gift of Huntly was converted into a charter of regality as above stated. As the facts come to light, it will be seen that Sir Robert Gordon had little cause to crow over Sutherland's "superiority."

2. At the west end of Farr churchyard stands a sculptured stone with Celtic cross and tracery, locally known as Clach Erchar, Stone of Farquhar. It may mark the grave of Farquhar mac Iye, the king's physician, and is supposed to do so.

1389] Athyn is another barbarous Latin form of the Irish name phonetically phosed name Iye. This would to some extent explain the Earl of Buchan's friendship with Fergusson, and enable us to find a reason for a party of Mackays supporting Duncan Stewart, son of Buchan, in a raid to the Braes of Ar[illegible] in 1391. If our theory be correct it supplies a motive for Angus Du Mackay's opposition to Donald, Lord of the Isles, at Dingwall in 1411, shortly before the latter met the Earl of Mar, a son of Buchan, at Harlaw. According to our theory the Earl of Mar and Angus Du would be first and second cousins. The issue of the Earl of Buchan by Mariota was: Alexander, Earl of Mar; Andrew; Walter; James; Duncan; and Margaret, who married Robert, Earl of Sutherland.

V. Donald.

K. 1370.

DONALD was murdered in 1370, along with his father, in Dingwall Castle by Nicolas Sutherland, as already described. His known issue was four sons:—

i. Angus, who succeeded his grandfather Iye, and of whom an account follows

ii. Huistean Du, who became tutor to Angus Du, son of his elder brother Angus, during his nephew's minority.

iii. Martin, of whom nothing is known save that he settled in Galloway, according to Sir Robert Gordon.

iv. Neil, who seems to have settled in Creich, for his three sons, Thomas, Morgan, and Neil had lands there, and in the neighbourhood. Thomas Neilson held the lands of Creich, etc., of his cousin Angus Du, and was executed at Inverness, probably in 1426, for the slaughter of Mowat of Bucholly. Morgan Neilson married a daughter of Angus Moray of Cubin and seems to have settled in Brae-Chat. Neil Neilson also married a daughter of the said Angus Moray, and obtained from King James I. in 1430 a charter of the lands of Creich, Gairloch, etc., escheated from his deceased brother, Thomas. The sons of Neil Neilson were:—John Bain who settled in Caithness and became the progenitor of the Bains in that county; Angus progenitor of the Siol-Angus; and Paul who became progenitor of the Polsons and some MacPhails.

ORIG. PAR., SCOT. II. ii., 696

EARLD. OF SUTHR. 65 & 505

1472 [illegible]] In connection with the signature of a Hugh Polson to a grant of the lands of Thorboll dated 1472, it is suggested in the *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ* Vol. II., part ii., p. 686, that the Polsons were descended of a Paul M etyre who flourished in Creich about a hundred years before that. This suggestion has been accepted by many, but we dispute it. The surname Mactyre continued in use by the family [illegible] 1472 and after it. A William McTeyr protested that he was not bound to give attendance at the head courts for the lands of Achnaphad, on 27th Feb. 1483. Achnaplad we take to be Plads near Dornoch. Marsella McTyre had sasine of the lands of Inverathy, as heir to her father, William Maktyre, on 6th July 1489.

Cromarty Bk. II., No. 58

Cromarty Bk. No. 11

Not only do we maintain that the Polsons are descended of MacKay, but [illegible] also maintain that a section at least of the MacPhails sp[illegible] from the same root. A cursory examination of the list of t[illegible] on the Reay estates about 1678, printed in our Appendix, [illegible] show what a number of MacPhauls there were among the[illegible]

VI. Angus.

1370–1403.

ANGUS, a youth, succeeded his grandfather Iye, and the blood-feud between the Mackays and Sutherlands raged, although somewhat abated, according to Sir Robert Gordon, during the time of Earl Robert of Sutherland who married a daughter of the Earl of Buchan, and succeeded Earl William. It may be significant that Earl William passed away in 1370, the year in which the Mackays, father and son, were murdered. It may be quite true that he got his *quietus* at the hands of the avenging Mackays, as is suggested in the *House and Clan of Mackay*.

SUTHR. BOOK.

In 1391 Duncan Stewart, son of the Earl of Buchan, invaded the Braes of Angus at the head of a host of Highland caterans, as Bower calls them. They were met at Gasklune, near the water of Isla, by Walter Ogilvy then sheriff of Angus, Sir David Lindsay of Glenesk, Sir Patrick Gray, &c., when the mail-clad gentry of the east were simply cut to pieces by the tartan-clad mountaineers of the north. Ogilvy with his brother Wat, Young of Auchterlony, the lairds of Cairncross, Forfar, and Guthrie, together with 60 men-at-arms were slain, while Sir Patrick Gray and Sir David Lindsay were sorely wounded. So fiercely did these highlanders fight that one of them, though transfixed by a spear and pinned through the body to the earth, swinging his claymore cut through the stirrup-iron and steel-

WINTON'S *Chron.*

1391] boct of his assailant reaching the bone, and then expired. Among these so called caterans[1] were John Mathyson and his adherents, Morgownde Roryson and Michael Mathowson with their adherents. The above were clearly, as their names indicate, the Mathiesons of Sutherland and the Morgans of Strathnaver, associated with a son of the Earl of Buchan, now also Earl of Ross. ACTS OF PAR I., 579.

Angus married a daughter of Torquil Macleod of the Lews, and had issue two sons. The said Torquil obtained by charter, during the reign of David II., four davochs of land and a castle in Assynt, on the west coast of Sutherland. The two sons of Angus Mackay were:— ROBERTSON'S *Index.*

i. Angus Du, who succeeded, and of whom an account follows.

ii. Rorie Gald, or Rorie the islander, so called from the fact that he was fostered by maternal relatives in the Lews. Rorie Gald fell in the battle near Dingwall when Angus Du endeavoured to check Donald, Lord of the Isles, in 1411, as shall appe afterwards.

1. The name *cateran* is often applied to Highlanders as a term of reproach by historians even of the middle of last century. It is the Anglicized form of the Gaelic, ceatharnach, a valiant fellow, and cognate with the Latin, quaternion.

VII. Angus Du.

1403–33.

HUISTEAN DU, who became tutor to his youthful nephew, Angus Du, on his father's death, offended the widowed mother whether justly or unjustly we cannot say. The relations between the two became so strained that her brother, Malcolm, son of Torquil Macleod of the Lews and Assynt, invaded Strathnaver with a body of men laying waste part of that country as well as Brae-Chat. Macleod was overtaken by the Mackays at a place now called Tuiteam Tarvach, in Strathoikel, making his way back to Assynt encumbered with spoil, and there was defeated and slain about 1406. The battle is known as La Tuiteam Tarvach, the Day of Great Slaughter, of which Sir Robert Gordon records that only one Macleod survived to carry the tale of disaster to the Lews. This need not be strictly accurate, as the same story is told of other Highland battles. Sir Robert also says that the Earl of Sutherland sent his friend, Alexander Moray of Cubin, with a body of Sutherland men to assist the Mackays. This latter statement is not at all likely to be true. The murder of the Mackays, father and son, at Dingwall in 1370, could not yet be forgotten, neither can we reconcile this statement with the bloody feud which we know existed between the Mackays and Cubin a few years later. Sir Robert has a knack, as we shall see afterwards, of generally claiming the credit of what he considers a valorous deed for Sutherland. It is so we believe in this case.

1411] On the death of Alexander, Earl of Ross, about 1410, his only child, the deformed Euphemia, by his wife a daughter of Robert, Earl of Fife and Duke of Albany, took the veil and resigned the earldom to her uncle, the Earl of Buchan, a son of Albany. Donald, Lord of the Isles, however, claimed the earldom through his wife a sister of the late Alexander, Earl of Ross. Donald's claim seems a just one, as Euphemia by taking the veil became legally dead: but the prize was too good for the Stewarts to drop without a struggle. The unscrupulous Regent Albany naturally supported the cause of his son of Buchan, and the Earl of Mar, a son of the "Wolf," also joined Buchan. Angus Du of Strathnaver was likewise induced to join the confederacy, partly by reason of his relation to the Earl of Mar, whose cousin we believe him to be, and partly in consequence of his landed interests in Ross. When Donald of the Isles marched on Dingwall, in the spring of 1411, Angus Du at the head of 4000 men endeavoured to bar the way, but was overpowered and captured while his brother Rorie Gald was slain. Angus Du was sent prisoner to a castle on the west coast, and Donald of the Isles advanced towards Aberdeen to be checked at Harlaw by the Earl of Mar.

After Donald's return from bloody Harlaw he made some alliance with Angus Du, and to this end bestowed upon him the hand of his sister, Elizabeth, in marriage. Shortly thereafter the friendship was still further strengthened by a charter of the lands of Strathhalladale, Creich, &c., dated 8th Oct., 1415, by Donald of the Isles to Angus Du and his son, Neil, by the said Elizabeth. As the sequel will show, these lands were given sometime thereafter by Angus Du to his cousin Thomas Neilson of Creich, probably to cement the families more firmly together. APPENDIX No. 3.

Hector Boece informs us that Angus Du "tuk an gret prey of gudis out of Moray and Caithness," but Sir Robert Gordon objects to the former raid though he acknowledges the latter. Sir Robert's objection to the former rests upon the slender ground, that Moray lies at such a distance from Caithness and Strathnaver that a raid

across Sutherland and Ross is improbable if not impossible. We hold a different opinion. Nicolas Sutherland, who murdered the Mackay chieftains at Dingwall in 1370, obtained lands in Moray and the half of Caithness by his marriage with a daughter of Reginald Chein.[1] The King of Scots was a prisoner in England, the country was distracted north and south, the strong hand had the guiding o't, and Angus Du was strong with free access to Ross, as we saw in 1411. What more natural than that he should make a raid upon Moray, now in the possession of the heirs of Nicolas Sutherland? The murder of the chieftains at Dingwall was not avenged yet, for their fall weakened the Mackays at the time, and Angus VI. did not live long enough to discharge this once sacred duty. Sir Robert would have us believe that the Mackays had already forgiven and forgotten the blood so treacherously shed by Nicolas little more than fifty years before. We do not believe a word of it. The Christian grace of forgiveness was not so developed in the Mackays of that period as to make them deaf to the cries of the murdered slain; and holding that opinion we do believe, upon the authority of Boece, that Angus Du spoilt Moray to his heart's content.

Angus in an impartial spirit next turned his attention to Caithness, where Nicolas had large possessions also. Sir Robert records that in 1426 he invaded "Caithness with all hostility and spoilt the same," fighting a pitched battle with the men of Caithness on Harpsdale Hill, about two miles south of Halkirk village. Some modern writers, notably the author of *The Gunns*, have supposed that Harpsdale Hill was fought between the Mackays and the Gunns. For this view there is no confirmation, that we are aware of. We do

1. Reginald Chein was the third and last of that name in succession. As he left no male issue his landed estates passed to his two daughters, Mary and Margery. The former, Mary, married first John of Douglas, and secondly John Keith of Inverugy. It was by this marriage that the Keiths obtained a footing in Caithness. Margery Chein, who married Nicolas Sutherland, had before 1370 a charter from King David II. "of the lands of Strabrok and the half of Catness" (Robertson's *Index*, No. 17). These lands of course passed to her children by Nicolas. Various traditions are afloat in the north regarding Reginald Chein, who is supposed to have been a great Nimrod. One is that he built a house on the bank of the Thurso river at its exit from Lochmor, so connected with salmon-cruives on the stream that a bell rang in the house whenever a fish became entangled in the cruives. Exactly the same story is current in Strathnaver with regard to a similar structure by him on the river Naver, somewhere near Achness (of old called Kerrow na Shein).

1427] not know of any cause of dispute between these two clans at that period; but between the Mackays and the descendants of Nicolas, who held lands in Moray and Caithness, there was a bitter feud. But if Angus Du had his revenge, he was soon made to suffer for his summary execution of what he thought to be justice.

King James I., who at the age of fourteen was captured by the English in 1405 on his voyage to France, remained a prisoner in England until 1424. On his return to Scotland he found the country in a very distracted state, and inoculated with English feudal ways, he resolved to apply drastic, if foolish remedies. In 1427 he came north in person and held a Parliament at Inverness, to which he summoned the Highland chieftains as members. These chieftains, unsuspicious of any treachery, trooped to meet their king, but no sooner did they appear than forty of them were clapped in irons, to the great gratulation of the monarch. Among these were Alexander, Lord of the Isles; Angus Du of Strathnaver, "a leader of 4000 men;" Kenneth Mor and his son in law; Angus Moray and MacMathan, each leaders of 2000 men. Angus Du was soon released, but his eldest son Neil was retained as a hostage and sent for a time to the Bass Rock. The fierce independent chieftains of Scotland resented these autocratic measures, and ten years thereafter King James was murdered at Perth. *Fordun*, HEARNE

Long after the Inverness Parliament, Thomas Neilson Mackay of Creich, first cousin of Angus Du, fell upon Mowat of Freswick somewhere in the neighbourhood of Tain, and pursuing him into the chapel of St. Duthus fired it, killing Mowat. As William Mowat of Loseragy gave the Caithness lands of Freswick and Auchingill in wadset to his son John, in 1410, it is evident that the Mowats had at this period lands in Moray and Caithness. They were thus neighbours of the Duffus family in both countries, and likely helped them against the Mackays in the prosecution of the feud. We believe this explains the Tain episode. The sacrilege gave great offence. To kill Mowat was one thing, to burn a consecrated chapel was quite another EARLD. OF SUTHR. ROBERTSON'S *Index*.

matter. The former might be ignored, but the latter could not. Such were the religious conceptions of the time! Anyway, Thomas was outlawed, and his lands promised to such as should apprehend him. But we fancy it was not an easy matter to lay Thomas by the heels without some stratagem.

As fate would have it, Angus Moray of Cubin,[1] a retainer of the house of Sutherland, had two daughters, one married to Neil and the other to Morgan, both brothers of Thomas Neilson Mackay. Instigated by Angus Moray, says Sir Robert Gordon, they basely betrayed their brother, who was captured and beheaded at Inverness. The lands of Thomas were divided among the three by charters from the king, dated 20th Mar., 1430. Angus Moray got Spinnydale, Invercarron, and Polrossie in the south, and Bighouse, the two Trantles, and the two Forsies in Strathalladale. Neil Neilson got Creich, Garloch, Daane, Moyzelblary, Conzeorth, Tuttin-Tarwach, Langort, and Amayde. Morgan Neilson got Golval and Balnaheglish in Strathalladale, Achanies, Altasmore, Leynfatmore, and Inveran. These lands scattered throughout Strathnaver, Sutherland, and Ross, indicate the vast power and possessions of Thomas Neilson Mackay. Part of these lands, if not all, were held by Angus Du and his heirs on the charter of 1415 from Donald, Lord of the Isles, so that Thomas must have held them of Angus. The king, however, appears to have ignored that charter; he may not have been aware of its existence at the time. When in 1506, at the instigation of Iye Roy Mackay of Strathnaver, the charter of 1415 was recorded in the books of the Lords of Council, note was taken of the fact that enemies tried to destroy the charter in these words, "notwithstanding the cancellatione and rivin of the samyne, reklesly and in the bak, be evil disposit persons." We have no doubt who those enemies were. They were representatives of those who tried to get behind this same charter in 1430. We shall afterwards see that Strathalladale proved

Reg. Mag. Sig.

1. Cubin lies within the old province of Moray, close by the mouth of the Findhorn. Moray of Cubin had lands also in Sutherland.

1433] something of a white elephant to the Morays owing to the hostility of the Mackays, and that they were glad to alienate their claim to it for the paltry sum of 1000 merks. The Mackays sold it in 1830 for £58,000 stg.

The fall of Thomas Neilson of Creich must have been a severe blow to the power of Angus Du. It encouraged Angus Moray and his sons-in-law to project an invasion of Strathnaver, in the hope of overthrowing Angus Du himself and possessing his lands. In these projected measures they had the "attollerance" of the Earl of Sutherland, as Sir Robert Gordon says; and whatever he would have us understand by the word he makes it clear that in this case it meant his active support. With the men of Caithness thirsting for the revenge of Harpsdale Hill on his left flank, the situation was very critical for Angus Du. Not only did he lack the powerful support of his dead cousin of Creich, but his eldest son, Neil, was still from home a hostage, and he was himself quite unable to lead his men owing to some infirmity. The duty of warding off the attack in this hour of deadly peril devolved upon Ian Aberach,[1] not yet out of his teens, and right nobly did he respond.

In 1433, according to the *Blk. MS.*, Angus Moray of Cubin with all the forces he could muster in Sutherland, to the number of 1500, advanced towards Tongue by way of Lairg, Shiness, and Crask-Rorie accompanied by his sons-in-law, Morgan and Neil Neilson. The strategy of Mackay was to lure them on as far as possible before giving battle. They were met at Drum nan Coup, at the head of a

1. Ian Aberach was the eldest son of Angus Du by his second wife, a daughter of Alexander Carrach Macdonald of Keppoch, as shall be afterwards shown, and was fostered by maternal relatives in Lochaber, hence his name Ian Aberach, John the Lochaber man. We shall here relate a tradition regarding the meeting of father and son on the eventful eve of the battle of Drum nan Coup. When Ian arrived at Tongue from Lochaber, his father determined to test his spirit in a quaint fashion. He ordered food to be spread for his son in a room where a large boar-hound was placed. The fierce brute, looking upon the food as under its charge, prepared to show fight as soon as the Aberach entered; but Ian nothing daunted drew his dirk, closed with the hound, and soon dispatched it. The father delighted with his son's intrepidity exclaimed, "Dhearbh thu fuil do chridhe," you have proved the blood of your heart. It may well be imagined his clansmen caught these words to ring throughout Strathnaver after the further proof they had of his valour on the field of Drum nan Coup. Be that as it may, this incident is traditionally reported to have occasioned the slogan "Dearbh do chridhe," prove thy heart, with which the Aberach Mackays were afterwards wont to rush into battle. That of the other branches of the clan is "Bi treun," be valiant. The latter slogan, in the Latin form "Manu forti," is now the motto of Mackay.

pass to the north of Ben Loyal within two miles of Castle Varrich[1], by about an equal number of men under Ian Aberach, who was accompanied to the field by his helpless father borne in a litter. When the men of Sutherland understood that the opposing leader was but a lad, they tauntingly shouted "Cuiridh sinne buarach air an laogh ud," we will put a cow shackle on yonder calf. The Mackays, securely posted with their backs to the brae, hurled defiance at their foes and gave them a long-range discharge of arrows. The Sutherland men came on with great impetuosity and confidence, but the Mackays, who had the advantage of position and were fresh while the former were fatigued with their long march, received the shock firmly, and after some fierce fighting eventually drove them back down the pass in confusion, killing Angus Moray and his confederate sons-in-law. As the weary fugitives swarmed up the slopes of Ben Loyal they were killed mercilessly and in great numbers. The chase was continued to Ath Charrie, a ford on the stream running into Loch Loyal, where a stone marks the graves of the last party killed in the flight. This splendid victory was the Bannockburn of the Mackays—it saved their country from greedy and unnatural usurpers—but it was saddened by the fall of Angus Du, slain by the arrow of a Sutherland man lurking in a bush, as he was being carried in his litter over the field after the flight of the enemy.

In Bower's *Continuation of Fordun*, in Leslie's *Historia Scotorum*, in Balfour's *Annals*, and in Gordon's *Earldom of Sutherland* reference is made to this battle. Bower, who misdates it and from whom Gordon seems to quote, would have us believe that the combatants practically exterminated one another at Drum nan Coup. This is not in agreement with the traditions of the country, and ill accords with what took place soon thereafter at Tom an Dris and at Sandside. The fall of Angus Du himself may have given rise

1. Castle Varrich stands on a rock above the river Verry, which flows into the Kyle of Tongue. Some little distance up the stream lies Inchverry. Evidently Varrich is a slightly corrupt form of Verry, hurling. It is a mistake to connect Varrich with St. Barr, and to make this ancient stronghold of Mackay a bishop's tower. Besides there is no proof that a Barr was ever Bishop of Caithness.

CASTLE VARRICH, WITH BEN LOYAL APPEARING IN THE LEFT BACKGROUND.

1433] to the rumour of the battle which went south, that the Mackays suffered as severely as the Mornys.

"Donald of the Isles," writes Sir Robert Gordon, "having detyned Angus Dow a while in captivitie, released him, and gave him his daughter in marriage, whom Angus Dow cared home with him into Strathnaver, and had a son by her called Neill Wass, so named because he was imprisoned in the Basse."

Sir Robert is mistaken in saying that the first wife of Angus Du was a daughter of Donald, Lord of the Isles. She was not his *daughter*, but his *sister*, Elizabeth, as is clearly stated in the charter of 1415. As this marriage did not take place till after the battle at Dingwall in 1411, and as John, Lord of the Isles (father of Elizabeth by his wife a daughter of King Robert II.), died in 1380, according to the *Book of Clanranald*, the lady must have been somewhat advanced in years at the time of her marriage and incapable of bearing many children. It is more than probable that Neil Vass was the only child of the marriage, and that Lady Elizabeth died soon after the charter of 1415 was granted.

Angus Du married, secondly, a daughter of Alexander Carrach MacDonald of Keppoch, son of John, Lord of the Isles, by his wife Margaret, daughter of King Robert II. In the *Knock MS.* history of MacDonald we read as follows:—"Hugh Mackay of Strathnaver was taken, who married thereafter a daughter of Alexander MacDonald of Keppoch, of whom descended the race of Mackays called *Sliochd Ean Abrich*." The historian here also has committed a mistake in naming Mackay of Strathnaver *Hugh* instead of Angus; but he makes clear that such a marriage took place, and that one of the sons of this marriage was Ian Aberach, from whom descended the Aberach Mackays. We are thus particular because Sir Robert Gordon, who never misses an opportunity of besmirching the family of Mackay, dubs Ian Aberach "bastard," and this statement of his has been slavishly copied by other writers since. It ill becomes Sir Robert to sneer at bastards, for he narrowly escaped being one himself. When his father, the Earl of Sutherland, married his mother, the divorced

COL. DE REBUS ALB.

wife of Bothwell, a dispensation from the Pope had to be obtained to make the marriage legitimate.[1] By the canon law of Rome, which had force in Scotland until after the Reformation, marriage with a deceased wife's niece, or even with a cousin thrice removed, was within the forbidden degree of consanguinity; and as the second wife of Angus Du was a niece of the first, the marriage came under the ban of the Romish Church. That is all. The only difference between Sir Robert Gordon and Ian Aberach is this: the former was made legitimate by a Papal dispensation, as documents extant amply prove, the latter may have been made legitimate in a similar way, but we cannot meantime lay our hands upon the documents. The known issue of Angus Du was five sons:—

i. Neil Vass Mackay, by the first wife, and of whom an account follows.

ii. Ian Aberach, by the second wife. He became progenitor of the Aberachs, a branch of which we give a genealogical account later on.

iii. Roderick, whose son, Donald, is mentioned in a decreet of the Lords of Council against the Mackays of Strathnaver in 1501.

iv. William, who is designated Angus Duff's son, and whose son, John, is included in the above decreet.

v. Angus, who had a son John, whose son, Angus, is designated of Spenziedale, Creich. This latter Angus granted sasine to his son-in-law, Roderick Murray, on the lands of Spanziedale and Bighouse, as is made clear in the title-deeds of the estate of Bighouse, of which a copy is preserved in the *Blk. MS.* It is more than likely that Murray contracted this marriage in order to fortify his family in the possession of Bighouse, which Angus Du obtained by charter in 1415, but which the king gave to the Murrays in 1430. We shall afterwards show that there was a flaw in the king's gift of 1430, or rather that it was unjust.

1. Alex., Earl of Sutherland, discarded his first wife, Lady Barbara Sinclair, daughter of the Earl of Caithness, and married Lady Jane Gordon, the divorced wife of Bothwell. Sir Robert Gordon was a son of this second marriage, and would have been a bastard were it not for the gold which his father paid to the Pope for a dispensation.

VIII. Neil Gass.

1433-50.

FOR some years after the death of his father Neil continued in captivity, and the maintenance of the interests of the Mackays of Strathnaver devolved during the interval upon Ian Aberach. Sir Robert Gordon relates that the Earl of Sutherland was greatly enraged at the news of Drum nan Coup, that he drove Ian Aberach into the western isles, and that on the Aberach's return at Ch[illegible] he pursued him a second time "so engerlie, that he [illegible] submit himself, and crave him pardon for his [illegible] upon his submission." That the Earl of S[illegible] is likely, but that he carried out these wo[illegible] that Ian Aberach came to Dunrobin to beg pardo[illegible] Drum nan Coup, we are sceptical enough not to believe. [illegible], in our opinion, fictional history written to support a fictional claim of Sutherland's "superiority" over Mackay.

As Angus Moray, according to Sir Robert Gordon, gathered "a company of Sutherlandmen with Earle Robert his attollerance," we are justified in believing that his force of 1500 men represented the collective strength of that country. It is but reasonable to conclude that on such a hazardous expedition all their available strength would be employed; and judging from its population the country was not capable of turning any more men into the field. But this force was effectually broken to pieces at Drum nan Coup and all its leaders slain. As we do not believe the Earl of Sutherland was able to raise

the dead on the slopes of Ben Loyal by the blast of a trumpet, we fail to understand where he got the men to carry out these Munchausen expeditions. We do acknowledge, however, that many attempts were made to assassinate Ian Aberach by Sutherland-men, who came north in various disguises to avenge the death of fallen relatives, and that consequently he often had to pass the night for safety in a most inaccessible rocky fastness, near Castle Varrich, called to this day Leabaidh Ian Aberich, that is John of Lochaber's bed.[1] The Mackays had nothing to fear from the men of Sutherland, who got such a severe handling in 1433 that they had to lie low for many a long day thereafter. Their danger lay in an attack from Caithness, which was delivered, although Sir Robert Gordon is silent on the point.

According to local tradition, shortly after the battle of Drum nan Coup and before Neil escaped from the Bass, Ian Aberach engaged the men of Caithness at Tom an Dris, on the west bank of the river Halladale, opposite Tor. The fight seems to have been a bloody one, as is evidenced by the abundance of human remains buried in the sandy slope above the ford at Tor. About 1820 a severe storm blew away the sand and exposed a considerable quantity of human bones, which Major Mackay of Bighouse collected and reburied at the foot of the slope, marking the spot by some stones. Human bones have also been found on both sides of the river in the neighbourhood of the ford, and for some distance to the east of it on the way to Caithness. From the configuration of the ground and from the position of the slain, it may be concluded that the Mackays were drawn up on the western slope above the ford to contest a Caithness invasion, and that the latter were driven back losing men for a considerable distance from the actual battle-field, as they were endeavouring to make their way home. The tactics practised here were exactly similar to those adopted so successfully at Drum nan Coup: the Mackays stuck to a good strong defensive position and waited for an attack with their

1. See on this point the *Old Statistical Account: Parish of Tongue.*

1437] backs to the brae. Instead of the Earl of Sutherland pursuing Ian Aberach after the battle near Tongue, it is more reasonable to conclude that the men of Sutherland were saved from further immediate punishment at the hands of Ian by the long-standing feud between the Mackays and the men of Caithness.

In Feb. 1436, King James was murdered at Perth, and shortly thereafter Neil Vass escaped from his prison on the Bass by the help of a kinswoman, the wife of Lauder the governor. The very next year Neil at the head of his clansmen undertook an expedition into Caithness. As Neil had no military experience—he was confined on the Bass at the tender age of 14—the captain of the force was undoubtedly the youthful veteran Ian Aberach. The Mackays poured into Caithness by way of Reay, and took the precaution of leaving a strong body posted on Drum Holstein to cover their rear. The main body advanced towards Thurso, plundering and burning as they went. They were met somewhere in the neighbourhood of Thurso by the forces of Caithness, before which the Mackays fell back fighting and carrying their spoil. They retired in good order to Sandside, where they were joined by their reserves from Drum Holstein, and there the real battle began. By skilful tactics Ian Aberach managed to corner the Caithnessmen in a loop of the bay below Sandside House, and to inflict a crushing defeat driving many into the sea. The survivors were chased for some distance along the shore towards Dunreay. Around the ancient fort of Cnoc Stangar, between Sandside House and the sea, where the fight was fiercest, the bones of the slain may yet be dug out of the sandy soil. This conflict is known as Ruaig Handside, Sandside Chase.[1]

PINKERTON A EARLIE OF SUTHR.

BLK. MS.

1. SANDSIDE CHASE.—Often have we listened of a winter's night to this wild tale concerning Sandside Chase. Alastair Balloch of Skail, Strathnaver, a man of great strength and stature, towards the close of the fight, chanced to encounter a small, lithe, Caithnessman of the name of Gunn, who was bravely fighting and falling back. After a few smart passes, Gunn with deft swordsmanship managed to hamstring big Alastair and left him lying helplessly wounded. Alastair's vexation at such an ignominious *quietus* was very great. After carrying everything before him during some hours close hand to hand fighting, and bringing down man after man, now to be gravelled by an insignificant little fellow, was a sorer wound to Alastair's pride than the sword-cut on his leg. As his companions bore him home to Skail, he vowed by all the saints that he must needs settle scores with the little Caithnessman before he could die happy. In the course of time the wound healed and Alastair Balloch set out limping towards Caithness, where he prowled for many a long day on the look out for the little Caithnessman. But he was doomed to

So idolized was Ian Aberach of his clansmen, who had good proof of his qualities during his brother's absence, that they would fain make him their chief, but Ian magnanimously refused to usurp his brother Neil's place, and handed over the government to him on his return from the Bass. This dauntless valour and unselfish chivalry became the heritage and characteristic of the Aberach Mackays, who were ever forward in the fray and but seldom reaped the full fruits of their victories, owing to their devotion to the principal family of Mackay. Neil, however, endeavoured to reward Ian by bestowing upon him lands in Strathnaver, but as there was no sheep-skin charters given or asked the descendants of Ian Aberach afterwards saw these lands pass over their heads to the Earl of Sutherland, in the days of Donald, 1st Lord Reay. Neil Vass married a daughter of George Munro of Fowlis by his wife, a daughter of Ross of Balnagown, and had by her two sons and one daughter :—

EARLD OF SUTHR.

BUK. MS

i. Angus Roy, who succeeded his father.

ii. John Roy, who had a son William Roy. The said William is mentioned in a decreet of the Lords of Council against the Mackays of Strathnaver, dated 27th July 1501, wherein he is designated "Wilziam Reed McKy."

iii. Elizabeth, who married John MacGillion of Lochbuy, chief of Maclean.

HAD

disappointment: he never met Gunn. Vexation and anger now gave place to melancholy and so preyed upon his mind that he sickened, took to his bed, and laid his trusty battle-axe between him and the wall. His soul loathed food; he even ceased to take any notice of visitors. His only apparent interest seemed to consist in running his hand along the edge of his axe to feel its sharpness. His friends seeing the end was near sent for the priest to prepare the dying man to meet his Maker. The priest came and told Alastair that if he would be pardoned of God he must himself forgive any against whom he may have a grudge.

"Surely you don't expect me to forgive everybody," said Alastair.

"Yes, everybody," replied the priest.

"Well I can't and won't forgive that little Caithnessman. Would to God I had met him!"

"Well, well," replied the priest, "you will probably meet him yet if he be a wild savage like yourself."

"Where?" cried Alastair, springing to his elbow, and grasping his battle-axe, while the old fire blazed forth once more in his eye.

"In hell," said the priest.

"Hell! So be it. I swear it was never hell till I catch him there," roared the infuriated man, and, with a fiendish shout, he fell back lifeless upon the bed.

X. Angus Roy.

1460-86.

THE blood-feud which raged between the Mackays and the Sutherlands since 1370 became so assuaged during a century that a daughter of Angus Roy married Sutherland of Dirlot. As was often the case with marriages, perhaps this one sealed some compact between the two families. The Keiths who were akin to the Sutherlands of Dirlot, both families obtaining their Caithness possessions through marriage with the daughters of Reynald Chein, were at daggers drawn with the Gunns. It is probable that the chieftain of clan Gunn, a man of great power and the crowner of Caithness, resented the intrusions of the Keiths, who like all new-comers were of a pushing disposition, and had much influence at court through Keith marischal. Be that as it may, the relations between them became so hostile that the Keiths determined to crush the Clan Gunn if possible.

"The Keiths mistrusting their own force," records Sir R. Gordon, "they sent to Angus Mackay entreating him to come to their aid," which he did. What induced Mackay to assist Keith we cannot definitely say. There was an undoubted prospect of plunder, but that was not all. Sir Gilbert Keith of Inverugie was about this time "customar," or collector of customs, for Caithness, Strathnaver, and Sutherland; and in the exercise of this function may have not only crossed the Gunns, but befriended the Mackays and secured their help. For whatever cause, Angus Roy advanced into Caithness

Orig. Par. Scot. II. 11 sic.

accompanied by a body of Assynt Macleods, joined the Keiths, and fought the forces of Gunn on Tannach Moor, near Wick. The gallant Gunns overwhelmed by numbers were defeated, but not without great slaughter on either side. Soon thereafter crowner Gunn and some of his sons were massacred by the Keiths in the chapel of St. Tyer, also near Wick. In the Parliament of 1478 measures were taken to put down blood-shed in Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness. Perhaps this had reference to these events.

ERLD. OF SUTHR.

A feud now broke out between the Mackays and the Rosses of Balnagown which lasted many a long day and resulted in much slaughter on both sides. The *Blk. MS.* says that the Rosses made "a predatory incursion" into the territory of Mackay; Sir R. Gordon says that Mackay "often molested with incursions and invasions" the lands of the Rosses. Both statements are probably true. It is to be remembered that the escheated lands of Thomas Neilson Mackay of Creich were bestowed by royal charter in 1430 upon Murray of Cubin, Neil Neilson, and Morgan Neilson. There is ample evidence that the Mackays of Strathnaver refused to acquiesce in this arrangement, and that they managed to recover some of the lost lands. The evidence is just as ample that the Rosses managed to secure some of these lands lying in the parishes of Edderton and Kincardine of Ross. We believe that the feud arose out of a scramble for the disputed lands. Angus Roy, after making various expeditions into Ross attended with greater or less success, was at last overpowered near the church of Tarbet into which he had fled for refuge. The church was fired by the Rosses, and Angus was burnt to death. This happened about 1486.

ERLD. OF SUTHR. AND BLK. MS.

There is nothing to show that the civil or ecclesiastical authorities took any measures to punish the sacrilege in the church of Tarbet. The times were painfully out of joint. Many of the Scottish nobles were in conspiracy against King James III.; and even his own son and successor, then a youth of 15 years, was in league with them. In

1486] 1488 the king fell at Sauchieburn fighting against his own son, afterwards known as James IV. The circumstances explain the Government's neglect; but the Mackays took the matter in hand themselves and executed summary vengeance, as shall soon appear.

Angus Roy married a daughter of Mackenzie of Kintail, and by her had issue three sons and two daughters:— Blk. Ms.

i. Iye Roy, who succeeded, and of whom an account follows.

ii. John Riavach. Sir R. Gordon makes him the eldest son, but the *Blk. MS.* distinctly states that he was the second son. The latter must be correct, for the public records show that John was alive in 1501, and that Iye acted as chieftain some years before that date. In his brother's absence, John Riavach led the Mackays at the battle of Aldycharrish in 1487, and is said to have fallen along with many of his clansmen at the battle of Flodden in 1513. Ibid.

iii. Neil Naverach is mentioned in the decreet obtained by the Rosses against the Mackays in 1501 as "bruder" of Iye Mackay. He married a daughter of Hutcheon Sutherland of Croystoun, by whom he had a son, John, who succeeded his maternal grandfather in the lands of Croystoun. The said John Mackay granted a procuratory to Hugh Rig and David Ireland, advocates, for serving him "ane of the twa airs of umql. Hucheon Sutherland my guidsyre" in all their lands etc., dated 4th November, 1542, and recorded in the *Reg. Acts and Decreets*: Bk. I., p. 393.

iv. A daughter, who married Hector Mackenzie of Auchterned, near Dingwall, son of Hector Roy of Gairloch, and had issue as recorded in MacFarlane's *Collections*.

v. A daughter, who married Sutherland of Dirlot.

X. Iye Roy.

1486-1517.

SOON after the slaughter of Angus Roy at Tarbet, the Mackays under the command of John Riavach Mackay and William Du mac Ean Aberich, the latter chieftain of the Aberach Mackays, assisted by some friends invaded Strathcarron of Ross in force. They met the Rosses and their confederates at Aldicharrish on the 11th July, 1487, where, according to Sir Robert Gordon who bases his account upon the *Fern Abbey MS.*, "the inhabitants of Ross being unable to endure the enemies force were utterly disbanded and put to flight." He proceeds, "Alexander Ross, laird of Balnagown, was there slain with seventeen other landed gentlemen of the province of Ross, besides a great number of common soldiers." From Strathoikel eastwards towards Tain the Mackays left the country blazing and returned home laden with spoil. With blood, fire, and pillage they both punished and avenged the combined sacrilege and slaughter at Tarbet church in such a thorough fashion, that the neglect or incapacity of the proper authorities was more than compensated. Nay more, five years afterwards they invaded the same district again and took much spoil a second time, as we shall see.

Sir Robert Gordon, who never forgets his self-imposed task of magnifying the house of Sutherland, calmly informs us that John Mackay, with a view to the invasion of Ross, came to the Earl of Sutherland "upon whom he depended, and desired, he said, to

1487] revenge his father's death; whereunto Earl John yielded and presently sent his uncle, Robert Sutherland, with a company of chosen men to assist him." In the first place, Mackay in noway "depended" upon the Earl of Sutherland. The feudal superiority of Sutherland over Mackay, which Sir Robert is continually harping upon, nowhere existed save in his own fertile imagination. In the second place, it is most unlikely that Earl John, who was handfasted if not married to a daughter of Balnagown, would assist to crush his father-in-law. It is possible, but not at all probable. And in the third place, when the raid was judicially enquired into there was no mention of the Sutherlands. "A remission to John McKeye" was granted by the king at Banff, between October and November 1494. A courier passed from Aberdeen with an "estreat of a justiceayre to Macintoshe, David Ross of Balloch gowne, and to McKeye," 8th November, 1494. When the quarrel came before the justiciar at Aberdeen the principals were Mackay, Macintosh, and Ross. Evidently Sir Robert dragged in the other "uncle Robert" in order to snatch the credit of the victory at Aldicharrish from the Mackays, but facts are against him.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT

Ibid.

In 1490 King James IV., as tutor to his brother James, Duke of Ross, granted in heritage to David Ross, nephew and apparent heir of John Ross, and grandson of John Ross of Balnagown, the lands of Strathoikel and Strathcarron, which formerly belonged[1] to Morgan Neilson Mackay. That is to say, as soon as possible after the accession of James IV. to the throne, the Rosses of Balnagown took steps to secure by royal charter some of the lands in dispute between them and the Mackays. Nor did the Mackays lag far behind. On the 15th March, 1504, Iye Roy Mackay secured from the king the nonentry of the lands of Ferencostrig, Strathhalladale, Creichmore, Assent, Coigach, Gruids, Strathflete, etc. On the 15th February, 1506, he caused the charter granted by Donald Lord of the Isles in 1415, and by which the Mackays laid claim to these lands, to be recorded in the books of the

APPENDIX No. 5

Ibid. No. 5.

1. In proof of this statement see *Orig. Par. Scot.*, Vol. II., part ii., pp. 411, 415, 455.

Lords of Council. And sometime thereafter he laid claim, as a test case evidently, to the lands and barony of Coigach in Ross. On this latter claim the Lords of Council pronounced a decree, the 9th March, 1512, finding that the lands of Coigach belonged to the unql. Eupham, Countess of Ross, but as she had resigned the earldom of Ross into the hands of Robert, Duke of Albany, and had taken a new charter "to herself and the heirs of her body, whom failing to the king's progenitors, kings of Scotland, in fee and heritage," and as the said countess had left no heirs of her body these lands had become the property of the Crown.

Act. Dom. Con. & Bk. Ms.

The Council's decree appears to us utterly unjust, and in keeping with many another legal transaction of the same body at this and other periods. Whatever documents Eupham the nun may have signed at the instigation of the notoriously unscrupulous Albany, it is undoubted that Donald, Lord of the Isles, secured and retained the earldom of Ross in spite of them. The said earldom with all its rights passed successively to his son Alexander and thereafter to his grandson John, both Lords of the Isles and Earls of Ross. It is true that John lost the earldom by reason of rebellion, but that should in noway invalidate the legality of the charter granted by his grandfather to the Mackays in 1415. As a brother of King James IV. was, however, created Duke of Ross, it was found convenient to rest his title to the lands of the earldom upon the resignation of Eupham, ignoring the MacDonald possession altogether. This was clearly sharp practice, to say the least of it. The counter claims of Mackay and Balnagown to parts of the lands held before 1430 by Mackay of Creich, who held them of his cousin of Strathnaver in consequence of the latter's charter from Donald, Lord of the Isles, serve to show the origin of the friction between the Rosses and Mackays which resulted in such an explosion at Aldicharrish.

We saw that John Mackay got a remission from the king in 1494, but this did not quench the embers of strife. It is evident that more blood was shed, for David Ross of Balnagown and Iye Roy of

1493] Strathnaver were summoned to appear before the Earl of Argyle, then Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, and on the 4th October, 1496, each of them became bound, by extending his hand to Argyle in the king's name, to keep the peace towards each other, and that their "folkis sal be harmeless and skaithless," under a penalty of 500 merks in case of failure. Act. Dom. Con. X., 197.

Notwithstanding the apparent reconciliation of the parties above mentioned, "David Ross of Balugowan and Hucheon Ross his brother, procurators for Giles Sutherland, spouse of unqll. Alexander Ross, and Isabella, Margaret, and Marion Ross, daughters," brought an action before the Lords of Council against the Mackays for spoils taken out of the lands of "Langell, Invercarron, Grewnard, Kincardin, Invercarsley and others within the Duchery of Ross." The spoils were:—

"Twelve hundred ky, the price of the piece 20s, with the profits of the same for eight years by-gane, extending yearly till the sum of 300 merks; ane hundred horse and mares, the price of the piece over head 40s, with the profits thereof extending yearly be the said space till £10; and ane thousand sheep and goats, the price of the piece 2s, with their profit yearly be the said space extending till 100 merks." In this action the Rosses prevailed and decree was accordingly pronounced against the Mackays, who did not put in an appearance at all, dated 27th July, 1501. Roughly speaking, the damages amounted to about 6000 merks, a very large sum in those days; but what portion of this if any the Rosses were able to recover we have no means of knowing. Ibid.

According to the above decree the spoliation complained of took place eight years earlier, or in 1493, while that in connection with Aldicharrish happened during the summer of 1487, as was recorded in the *Fern Abbey MS.* Evidently there were two great raids by the Mackays into Ross separated by an interval of five years. Of the first raid the authorities took no notice; it was apparently considered justified by the code of revenge common then; but the second raid resulted in an action at law. It is very evident the Rosses had no

reason to congratulate themselves upon the burning of Angus Roy Mackay in Tarbet church.

TYTLER'S *Scotland.*

To reward with gifts of land or otherwise Highland chieftains and headmen, who brought offenders to justice and assisted in the maintenance of order, was part of the settled policy which King James IV. adopted in the north. He seems to have been in regular communication with the Mackintosh, Huntly, Cameron, Grant, Mackay, as the national records abundantly show. It was in pursuance of this policy that, on the 18th July, 1496, he bestowed £20 yearly out of "our lordship of Murray . . . . for gud and treu service doun to us be our lowit squyr Y McKy of Straithnaver," to continue until "we provide ane leving and fee of land for the said Y McKy in ane competent place lyand near the boundis of Straithnaver." The king in this document expressly addresses Mackay as "of Strathnaver," and holds out the prospect of other lands in the neighbourhood when the opportunity presents itself. It did so speedily.

APPENDIX No. 6.

Sutherland of Dirlot, who was pursued for some debts by Sir James Dunbar of Cumnock, murdered his relative, Alexander Dunbar, step-father of John Earl of Sutherland, and was in consequence put to the horn. Iye Roy Mackay, who was already bound to the king's service for the maintenance of order, received a commission to apprehend Dirlot and did so. Mackay was rewarded by a charter under the Great Seal, dated 4th November, 1499, of the escheated lands of Dirlot, viz., Farr, Armadale, Strathy, Rennivie, Davach Lochnaver, and Davach Eriboll, all in Strathnaver, of Kinald, Golspie, and Kilcolumkill in Sutherland, and of Dirlot, Cattack, Bronach, and two pennylands of Stroma in Caithness. As Dirlot was a nephew of Mackay the apprehension seems somewhat heartless, but there were extenuating circumstances. Dirlot or his father managed to get possession by some means of Strathnaver lands which formerly belonged to the family of Mackay. Of this there can be no doubt. In the sasine which Donald, son of Iye Roy Mackay, took of these

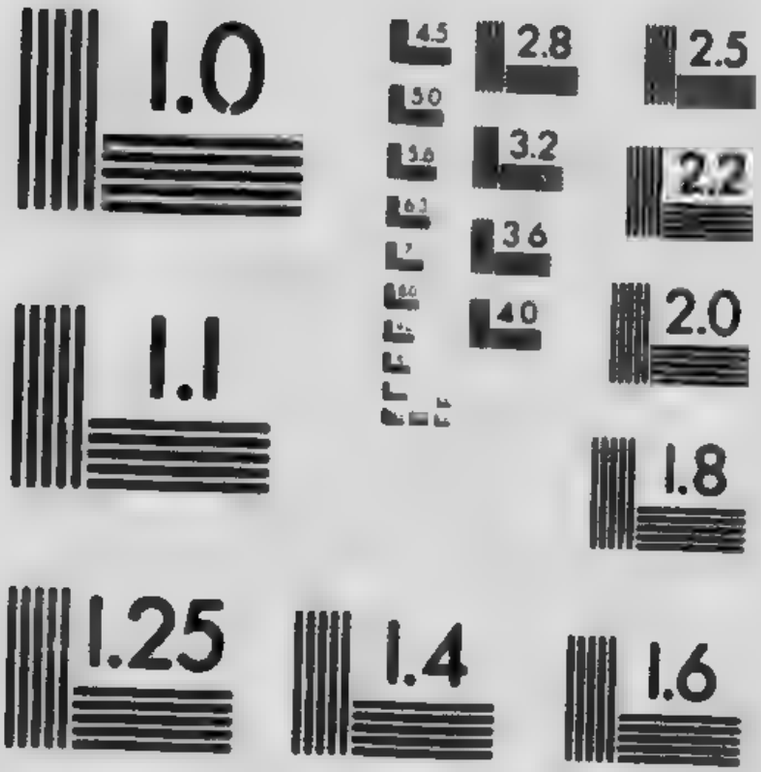
APPENDIX No. 7.

1503-6] lands on 16th February, 1540, it is expressly stated that the said lands pertained to "the late Odo McKy alias Y McKy, father of the foresaid Donald McKy, and his predecessors held of our deceased illustrious predecessors" (quondam Odamus McKy alias Y McKy, pater prefati Donaldi McKy, ejusque predecessores per quondam nobilissimos predecessores nostros). Looked at in this light, Mackay's temptation to acquire ancestral lands, which in some way came into the possession of Sutherland, overbore any natural affection which he might be expected to cherish towards his nephew. And besides this, Dirlot on the father's side was a representative of Nicolas Sutherland, with whom and with whose successors the Mackays waged such a prolonged and fierce feud. Inv. No. 14.

The closing years of the fifteenth and the opening years of the sixteenth century witnessed a great upheaval in the western isles, where the people continued to cherish a hankering after the re-establishment of the ancient lordship of the isles. The king, irritated at the misconduct of the Hebrideans, unwisely cancelled the charters of some of the leading families, and practically goaded them into revolt. Almost at the same moment Donald Du, grandson of John, Lord of the Isles, escaped from his long confinement in the castle of Inchconnal, fled to the Lews, and put himself at the head of the discontented confederates. It took three expeditions, in 1503, 1505, and 1506, respectively, to quell the tumult; and in all these expeditions Iye Roy Mackay did most effective work at the head of his clansmen. In the Parliament of 1505 Torquil of the Lews, who persistently refused to put in an appearance, was found guilty of treason and put to the horn. Huntly was commissioned to proceed with the northern Highlanders across the Minch and capture the recalcitrant Macleod. To this end ships were collected, cannon brought by sea from Edinburgh Castle, and every nerve strained to make the expedition a success. In 1506 Huntly, Mackay, and others appeared before Stornoway Castle, and after battering it with artillery took Torquil prisoner. Acts of Par. & Treasurer's Ac.

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



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As a reward for his services in helping to crush the Hebridean insurrections, the king "gevis and grantis to our lovit Y McKay" the nonentry of the lands in Straithnaver, Slichchilis, Strathhalladale, Creichmore, Assent, Coigeach, Gruids-davach, Edderachilis, the Little Isles of Strathnaver, and a part of the lands of Strathflete, dated 15th March, 1504. The Strathnaver lands in nonentry at this time were evidently those pertaining to the lineal heir of Farquhar, "the king's physician"—a Mackay who obtained the lands of Melness, Hope, and the Little Isles of Strathnaver from King Robert II., as we saw. On the 30th September, 1511, Iye Roy and his son, John Mackay, purchased the lands of Melness and Hope from Donald McCorrichie, Farquhar's heir, and thus secured them in heritable right, but the Little Isles did not come into the possession of the family until they were purchased by Donald, 1st Lord Reay. It is very evident from these transactions that the Mackays held a great amount of landed estate at this period, not only in Strathnaver but in Sutherland and Ross, and that they must have been able to put a large force into the field.

App. No. 8.

Ibid. No. 9.

King James IV. having resolved upon an invasion of England summoned his subjects capable of bearing arms, and had a most loyal response from both Highlands and Lowlands. According to the *Blk. MS.*, Iye Roy Mackay accompanied by his brother John Riavach, at the head of a contingent from Strathnaver, joined the royal standard and took part in the battle of Flodden in 1513. Iye Roy escaped with his life from the fatal field, but John Riavach and a number of clansmen fell that day. Among the slain from the far north were both the Bishop and the Earl of Caithness.

After the fall of the king at Flodden, the islanders made insurrection again under the leadership of Sir Donald MacDonald of Lochalsh, commonly called Donald Galda. John, Duke of Albany, and Colin, Earl of Argyle, were entrusted with the task of suppressing the disturbance in 1515, and were in a measure successful. But Donald Galda managed to renew the conflict in 1517, and gave much

ARMS OF MACKAY OF STRATHNAVER IN 1503,
FROM THE BALFOUR MSS.

1517] trouble to the Earl of Argyle, who had been appointed Lieutenant of the Isles shortly before. When Argyle petitioned the Government for assistance against Sir Donald, letters were ordered to be directed in name of the king to the head-men of the north, "as the Lord Lovat, Macintosh, Grant, MacKenzie, McKy, McClod, &c, in tha parts, to pursue the said Sir Donald and his accomplices," dated May 1517. What response the Mackays made to this appeal we cannot say, but the affair soon thereafter terminated with the death of Sir Donald. ACT. DOM. CON.

Iye Roy shortly before his death joined in a band of friendship with Adam Gordon, Earl of Sutherland, on the 31st July 1517. Of course, Sir Robert Gordon makes this to appear as the act of a vassal towards his superior. It was nothing of the kind, as the document itself shows. To the extent of the lands of Strathflete and others, within the earldom of Sutherland (which was separate from Strathnaver), Earl Adam was the feudal overlord of Mackay, but no further. Sir William Fraser, discussing Sir Robert's reference to this transaction, writes:—"He also describes it as if it were granted by an inferior to a superior, which is not the case. The agreement, except for the acknowledged fact that Earl Adam was Mackay's overlord in certain lands, is a transaction between equals." It was not a case of the Earl of Sutherland calling Mackay to heel, as Sir Robert Gordon misrepresents it, but a case of the Earl of Sutherland soliciting the much-needed support of Mackay in an hour of great need, as shall appear afterwards. So much meantime for Sir Robert's fireworks. APPENDIX No. 10.

Iye Roy Mackay, who died towards the close of 1517, married a celebra beauty, a daughter of Norman, son of Patrick O'Beolan of Carloway in Lewis, as is stated in the *Knock MS.*, or as Sir Robert calls her, "a woman of the western isles." O'Beolan was the lineal descendant of the well-known priestly family of Applecross, whose progenitor was St. Maolrubha.[1] This marriage was not in conformity COL. DE REBUS ALB.

1. Saint Maolrubha had numerous dedications in Moray, Ross, Lewis, Strathnaver, etc., and is known as Malrou, Maree, Rice, Rufus, and even Samaru. He appears to have been the patron

Reg. Sig. IV. 11 with canon law, but Iye Roy duly secured from King James IV., 8th August, 1511, a precept of legitimation for his two surviving sons, John and Donald. By the unscrupulous conduct of the Earls of Huntly and Sutherland, Iye Du Mackay, the grandson of Iye Roy, got into much trouble in consequence of this marriage notwithstanding the royal precept of 1511, as shall appear. The issue of this marriage was three sons and two daughters:—

i. John, who succeeded his father in 1517.

ii. Donald, who succeeded his brother John in 1529.

iii. Angus, who fell fighting against the Rosses, near Tain, before 1511.

iv. A daughter, who married Hugh Macleod of Assynt, and had known issue Neil and Helen. Helen Macleod married her first cousin, Iye Du of Strathnaver, to whom she bore Donald Balloch Mackay of Scoury and John Beg, the former becoming the progenitor of the Scoury Mackays.

v. A daughter, who married the Honl. Alexander Sutherland, son of John, Earl of Sutherland, by his second marriage.

saint of Strathnaver. At Balnakeil in Durness there is a stone called "the red priest's stone," and another at Skail on the Strath of the Naver which goes by the same name. Dr. Reves thinks the latter was "a girth or sanctuary stone." The old fair at Farr, held in September formerly, is often called locally Feil Samarn, that is the fair of St. Rufus; and Loch Monair on the Strath was until lately considered to have healing virtues equal to those of Loch Maree in Ross. Like Maree, Monair is doubtless a corrupt form of the name Maolrubha. For an interesting account of this Celtic saint see an article by Dr. Reeves in *The Proceedings of the Antiquarian Society, Edinburgh:* Vol. III.

XI. 1. John Mackay.

1517-29.

WE have now come to a point where it is absolutely necessary to take a general survey of the situation in Sutherland, owing to the advent of the Gordons and its far reaching effects. John, Earl of Sutherland, who died in 1508, was for some years before his death demented and his affairs in the hands of guardians. By his first wife, Fingole of the Isles, whom he divorced, he had a son John, who succeeded, and a daughter Elizabeth, who married Adam Gordon of Aboyne, brother of Alexander, 3rd Earl of Huntly. By his second wife, Catherine, who survived him and drew widow's terce as late as 1512, he had a son Alexander Sutherland—"a bastard," according to Sir Robert Gordon. John the elder son of Earl John was served heir to his father on the 24th July 1509, but soon experienced the power of the Gordons. As sheriff of the north, Huntly had under his jurisdiction Caithness, Strathnaver, Sutherland, Ross, Inverness, Moray, etc., and may be said to have had law and justice, such as it was, in his almost absolute hands. Huntly by legal manipulation got John, Earl of Sutherland, who succeeded in 1509, declared idiot and placed under the conjoint guardianship of Elizabeth, his sister, and her husband, Adam Gordon.

On the death of James IV. at Flodden in 1513, Scotland was left under the nominal government of an infant, James V., but one year old, and had to experience the miserable misrule which generally attended royal minorities in the northern kingdom. Huntly, who was

practically lieutenant as well as sheriff of the north, had now the ball at his foot and did not fail to play his best. Elizabeth Sutherland, spouse of Adam Gordon, Huntly's brother, was served heir to her brother, John "the idiot," at Inverness, the 3rd October 1514; and Alexander Sutherland, her half-brother and rightful heir, complained through his procurator that he could not personally appear at the court to oppose her and make good his own claim, owing to the conduct of Huntly "the sheriff." But his protest was of no avail; Elizabeth obtained the earldom, and her husband Adam Gordon was soon thereafter created Earl of Sutherland. The disinherited Alexander Sutherland, however, possessed himself of Dunrobin Castle and cast about for assistance to maintain his doomed cause. Earl Adam, as he was now called, also fished for much-needed assistance to counteract the claimant. In 1516 by a grant of the lands of Strathulie he secured a bond of friendship with the Earl of Caithness, who for these lands engaged to recover Dunrobin Castle for Adam. In 1518, Huntly the sheriff had the Earl of Caithness outlawed for not fulfilling his promise to recover Dunrobin. Such was the administration of constitutional law in those days! To make a long story short, the unfortunate Alexander Sutherland was assassinated near Brora in 1519 by Gordon emissaries, when his head was fixed upon the chimney-tops of Dunrobin; and Adam Gordon his brother-in-law, now Earl of Sutherland, soon thereafter resigned the lands of the earldom into the hands of the infant king, represented no doubt in the person of Huntly, who duly conveyed them by royal charter to Adam's eldest son—a slim but common practice in those days.[1] This was how the title and lands of the earldom of Sutherland passed from the line of Sutherland to that of Gordon.

It was in these circumstances that Iye Roy Mackay contracted the bond of friendship with Earl Adam, dated 31st July 1517, which Earl Adam's great-grandson, Sir Robert, represents as a covenant of vassalage. Fortunately the document is still preserved among the

1. The facts given above are substantiated by Sir Wm. Fraser;—*Sutherland Book*: Vol. I.

1517-18] *Reay Papers*, and we are able to print it in our Appendix; but unfortunately many another misrepresentation of his, equally gross with reference to the Mackays, we cannot so satisfactorily demolish for lack of the necessary evidence. At the advent of the Gordons into Sutherland, notwithstanding the discreditable circumstances above described, Sir Robert Gordon plays "cock of the north" with a strut that is often annoying though sometimes ludicrous. He dubs John Mackay of Strathnaver "bastard"—he does the same to Alexander Sutherland—and proceeds to describe a prolonged intestine war in Strathnaver between John and his uncle Neil Naverach, on the question of the chieftainship, which is neither borne out by facts within our knowledge nor agrees with his own tale.

John Mackay, on the 16th August, 1518, or shortly after his father's death, practically renewed his father's bond of friendship with Earl Adam, and for promising assistance was given seven davachs of land in Strathfleete. In this bond he took upon him the responsibilities of chieftain, and is designed "of Strathnaver," a title which was never applied at that period save to the rightful head of the clan Mackay. Nay more, on Sir Robert's own showing, John Mackay sent or led no less than six warlike expeditions of his [illegible] into Sutherland between the years 1517-22, in every one of [illegible] he was badly defeated, of course! If John was so busy at [illegible] putting down insurrection we cannot understand how he could be at the same time so active abroad, especially seeing that he lost at every stroke! If John did all this he must have been one of the finest fighting bull-dogs his clan ever produced, and ought to have received better treatment at the hands of a gallant knight like Sir Robert. There is, however, nothing to show that John's succession was disputed, and Sir Robert evidently manufactured this story to justify the conduct of the Earls of Huntly and Sutherland, when, during the minority of Mary Queen of Scots, they attempted to disinherit Iye Du Mackay, nephew of the said John. The Gordons, who managed to disinherit and decapitate the unfortunate Alexander

APPENDIX No. II.

Sutherland on the plea of bastardy, tried a similar plan on Iye Du Mackay, but with only partial success. To expose the misrepresentations of Sir Robert is a tedious and unpleasant task, which often compels us most unwillingly to rake up incidents discreditable to the house of Sutherland; but as Sir Robert, who is so unjust to the Mackays, is practically the only authority on our northern history at this period, we cannot avoid the task and be loyal to our own clan as well as to truth.

We shall now consider those six wonderful incursions which John Mackay is said to have made between the years 1517 and 1522. Mackay with his clansmen, accompanied by some Assynt Macleods, marched into Sutherland in 1517, where he was joined by the Polson and Tomson Mackays. Alexander Sutherland, "the bastard," at the instigation of his sister (now Countess of Sutherland, to his undoing) raised the men of the earldom, and being joined by the Murrays and Gunns gave battle to Mackay at Torran Du in Rogart, where the latter suffered a mighty overthrow. This is history as told by Sir Robert Gordon, but it is not truth. Sir Wm. Fraser shows us that from March, 1517, to February, 1518, the disinherited Alexander Sutherland, instead of leading men to battle, was confined a prisoner in Edinburgh through the influence of Huntly; and he proceeds, "in other respects also Sir Robert's narrative of the various encounters with the Mackays at this time must be received with caution." We should think so indeed. The fact is there was no fighting at all in Earl Adam's policy, because of his uncertain and precarious hold of the earldom. Instead of fighting he wisely tried to bind to his interest, with bonds of friendship and gifts of land, all the influential leaders of the northland, such as Caithness, Mackay, Murray, etc.

SUTHR. BK. I., 19.

Mackay, however, did fight at Torran Du, as tradition and song sufficiently testify; but his opponents were the Murrays, the Rosses of Balnagown, and the Gunns, while with him were the Mathiesons and the Polsons. Among the papers of the Revd. Mr Sage of Kildonan was a *MS. Account of the Gunns*, which came into the possession of

1517-18] the Revd. Mr Gunn of Wotten about 1804, and which now lies before us. In this MS. there is one verse of an old Gaelic song commemorating the part which the Gunns took in the fight at Torran Du, which we give and translate as follows :—

Thainig na Guinich 's gu'n tainig iad,
'S ann an deagh am a thainig iad.
Thair iad as Macaoidh 's sial Mhothan,
Mharbhadh leo siol Phail gun acain.

The Gunns came and came they did,
T'was in an hour of need they came.
The Mackays and the Mathiesons fled,
But the Polsons were mercilessly slain.

According to this MS. account, the day was going with Mackay when suddenly and unexpectedly the Gunns appeared coming over the brow of the hill towards the battle field, and changed the face of affairs. The Mathiesons and Mackays like prudent men retired to fight another day, but the Polsons were caught in a trap and suffered much loss. A few months after this "great defeat," the Mackays put in an appearance at Loch Salchie, above Strathoikel and near the borders of Ross, when William Mackay, chieftain of the Aberachs, and his brother Donald fell on the one side, and John Murray of Aberscross fell on the other. Once more, and only a few months later, the Mackays turn up in the heart of Rogart burning the town of Pitfure in Strathflete. Then almost immediately follows the bond of friendship, 16th August, 1518, between Mackay and Earl Adam, in which the former secures from the earl seven davachs of land in Strathflete. To put it briefly, the Mackays who were twice defeated in Rogart within the space of 12 months, according to Sir Robert, are shown by the *Reay Papers* to have rounded up the year by securing a title to lands in the said parish. Of course, Sir Robert takes good care not to say anything about the latter fact—it would spoil his story.

Shortly after all these disastrous "defeats," and before the ink was hardened on the bond of friendship, Mackay turns up in Creich and again suffers a great beating at the hands of Alexander Gordon,

Master of Sutherland. And yet again, within a year, the ubiquitous Mackay invades Braechat to be defeated by the Master once more. To punish Mackay for his thick-headedness in not understanding that he was defeated so often, Sir Robert now makes the Master invade Strathnaver passing from end to end and taking great spoil. We should think Mackay had enough punishment by this time to satisfy even Sir Robert, but such was not the case—the Master had to administer another thrashing at Lairg and drive Mackay into the loch there. At last Mackay's spirit is broken—perhaps the swim in Loch Shin had something to do with it—any how, he signs "a bond of service" to the Master in 1522. This is Sir Robert's story briefly stated.

Now what are the facts as far as we know them from documentary evidence? The bond which John Mackay signed, on the 6th July, 1522, is indorsed on the document lying in Dunrobin, "Ane act where McKy gaif his aith to Alexander, erle of Sutherland, to do all things that he was oblist till do to Adam, erle of Sutherland." Quite so. Earl Adam with whom John Mackay had contracted a bond of friendship in 1518, resigned the earldom into his son's hands, and now the son renews the said covenant with Mackay. There is not a syllable in the document to indicate any fighting between the two. It is very evident that the Master of Sutherland owes those brilliant victories over Mackay to the vigour of Sir Robert's glowing imagination. Such is history as it was written by Sir Robert! That there was a considerable amount of fighting in Sutherland during these years we believe, but it was not between the Gordons and the Mackays. The Gordon policy, inspired by the astute Huntly, sheriff of the north, was to set by the ears the Mackays, Murrays, Gunns, Mathie[illegible], Rosses; and in this the Gordons were only too successful. While the other clans kept hammering one another, the Gordons wisely kept fortifying their own position in Sutherland.

APPENDIX No. 12.

In 1529 Andrew Stuart, Bishop of Caithness, instigated one of his

1529] servants to murder Sutherland of Duffus while on a visit to Inverness. This naturally caused an uproar throughout the diocese, some supporting the bishop and others the Duffus party. Sir Robert tells us that Huntly and Sutherland took the bishop's part, and practically saved from the gallows the reverend prelate's neck, because he happened to be a scion of the house of Atholl, with which they were in league. Mackay espoused the other side, and marched with a body of men towards the bishop's castle of Skibo; but he sickened during the expedition, and was carried home to die almost immediately.

John Mackay married Margaret, daughter of Thomas, Lord Lovat, who succeeded to the chieftainship of Fraser in 1501. In the *Wardlaw MS.*, Vol. 34 of the *Scottish History Society Publications*, she is designed "Margaret Lady McKay," and must have been the wife of John, from the period at which her father flourished. By her he had two daughters, but no male issue[1]:—

i. A daughter, who married Hugh Murray of Aberscross and to whom she bore Hugh, "son and heir of Hugh Moray of Aberscross and grandson, and one of the heirs, of John MacKay of Strathnaver," as is recorded in a charter by Wm. Sutherland of Duffus to the said Hugh Moray, dated 21st February 1581. See Inventory of Dunrobin Papers in the *Blk. MS.*

ii. A daughter, who married the laird of Polrossie.

1 He had also an illegitimate son, John Mor, of whom we shall hear more afterwards. The said John Mor had known issue five sons, viz., Neil; Rory, constable of Borve Castle in Farr during its siege in 1554; Murdo, whose son Donald macMurdo macEan Mor lies buried within the old church of Durness; John; and Tormat:—*Reay Papers.* These five brothers are also mentioned in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. I. p. 352.

XI. 2. Donald Mackay.

1529–50.

AS John Mackay died leaving no legitimate male issue, he was succeeded in 1529 by his brother Donald, who about that time assisted the Master of Forbes and Sir John Campbell of Cawdor in the prosecution of an Aberdeenshire feud, which resulted in the slaughter of Alexander Seaton of Meldrum. In Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. I., p. 149, we read:—

"At Dundee, 10th October, 1530, John Master of Forbes found caution (John Lord Forbes) for his appearance along with Ninian Forbes, John of Caldore, and Donald Makky, at the justice-aire of Aberdeen, to underlie the law for art and part of the cruel slaughter of Alexander Seaton of Meldrum."

The occasion of this feud is surrounded with much obscurity; its chief interest for us consists in the fact that we now find the Mackays and Forbeses, who claim to have sprung from a kindred stock in the distant past, acting in concert. It was for this slaughter, probably, that Mackay obtained a pardon for himself and his Strathnaver clansmen, 26th July, 1536, as follows:—

PITCAIRN'S *Trials*, I., 246.

"Respite to Donald MacKay and to all persons inhabitants of the land of Strathnaverne, Athir-Achquhilis, and Ardurenis, within the sheriffdom of Inverness, for all actions, crimes, etc., treason in our lord's person alanerlie excepted."

In July of the following year (1537) the Master of Forbes and his sister-in-law, Lady Glamis, sister of Douglas Earl of Angus, were executed for conspiracy against the king's life. Associated with Lady

1537] Glamis in the said asserted conspiracy was an Alexander Maky, whose singular sentence was to be banished from all parts of Scotland except the county of Aberdeen. TYTLER'S *Scotland.*

Calderwood in his *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, compiled about one hundred years later, asserts that the jury who found Forbes guilty were corrupted by Huntly,[1] and Pitcairn accepts this statement. That King James V. persecuted with much malignity the Douglas family generally, and the Earl of Angus especially, the regent for some time during the king's minority, is a well known fact. That at the same time Huntly, who was a bitter Catholic like the king himself, stood high in the royal favour is an equally well-established fact. The Earl of Angus, stripped of everything, fled to England and became a leader of the Anglo-Reformation party, which Forbes also joined; while the king, Huntly, and others, became known as the Franco-Romish party. We shall afterwards see that Iye Du, son of Donald Mackay, joined the party of the Reformers and suffered for so doing at the hands of Huntly and his clique, in 1551 and thereafter. It is probable that the Mackays, feeling the pressure of Huntly in the north, for the earldom of Sutherland in the hands of a Gordon was to all intents and purposes an appanage of Huntly, endeavoured to counter-balance this by an alliance with their Aberdeenshire kinsmen, the Forbeses. In other words, Mackay in the north and Forbes in Aberdeen endeavoured to stand together against the Gordons in Sutherland and in Strathbogie.

It has to be observed that Sir John Campbell of Cawdor, brother of the Earl of Argyle, was associated with the Mackays and Forbeses in the slaughter of Seaton. It was this same Sir John who slew Maclean of Duart in bed, about 1529, for the latter's inhuman treatment of Lady Elizabeth Campbell his wife, whom Duart barbarously left exposed to certain death on a lonely western sea-girt

1 "The Master of Forbesse was beheaded the 10th of Julie, after that he had been convict by an assise as having, some yeeres before, sought with Douglas to slay the king. Strauchane, one of his servaunts, the reveeler or rather forger of the conspiracy, was seduced by Huntly. It was knowne also that the greatest part of the assise was corrupted by the said erle": Woodrow Edition of Calderwood's *History*, Vol. I. p. 112.

isle. Maclean's slaughter resulted in a prolonged and bloody feud between his clan and the Campbells, during which the Mackays of Kintyre, especially, suffered severely at the hands of the Macleans. It appears that these Mackays supported the Campbells, for the charters and presumably the house of Evor Mackay, hereditary crowner of Kintyre from time immemorial, were burnt and his lands laid waste.[1] It may be that the Strathnaver Mackays also joined the Campbells and the Kintyre Mackays against the Macleans; but this is only a surmise based upon their association with Cawdor in fighting the Seatons.

In May, 1539, King James V. sailed from Leith with a large fleet on a cruise round the north of Scotland, calling at Orkney and touching on the Strathnaver coast, presumably at Loch Eriboll, where Mackay went aboard and accompanied the king during the rest of the voyage. On doubling Cape Wrath, the king took other chieftains aboard, such as Roderick Macleod of the Lews, Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, John of Moidart, Alexander of Glengarry, MacKenzie of Kintail, Maclean of Duart, and MacConnal of Isla. Some of these chieftains were received on board as enemies and afterwards imprisoned, others as friends and afterwards rewarded. Pitscottie says "some he put in ward, some bade in court, and some he took pledges for good rule in time coming." Mackay was well treated by the king apparently, for on the 16th December, 1539, after their arrival at Stirling, he obtained a charter under the Great Seal of his ancestral lands in heritage, viz., the lands of Farr, Armadale, Straye, Rynewe, Kynnald, Golspie, Dirlot, Cattack, Broynach, Kilchalumkill in Strabrora, Davach Lochnaver, Davach Eriboll, the two pennylands of Stromay, the mill of Kinald, the island of Sanday extending to three pennylands, the lands of Melness and Hope, with the mills, mill-lands, manors, etc., formerly belonging in heritage to Y McKy and his ancestors, the father of the said Donald, but in the king's hands by reason of nonentry, and now erected into the free barony of

PITSCOTTIE.

APPENDIX No. 13.

1 See *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, Vol. III., p. 638; and Vol. VII., under date 28th December, 1615.

1540-2] Farr, sasine to be taken at the principal messuage of Farr. Mackay took sasine by procurators of these lands at the castle of Farr, which lay between Swordly and Farr, on the 16th February, 1540. APPENDIX No. 14.

Mackay seems to have remained at court for at least a twelvemonth, as, on the 26th November, 1540, he witnessed a charter of lands in Monteith of Perth to Anthony Balfour of Torre Estir. While at court, Mackay obtained a charter from Andrew, Bishop of Caithness, of the XV. davach churchlands in Durness, Strathnaver, to himself and to his heirs after him, viz., the lands and barony of Ardurness, comprehending the lands of Galdwall, Kauldoull, Craniga, Barroull, Slanis, Alshermoir, Alsherbeg, Sandwet, Island Hoa, and others with their pertinents: Reserving to the bishop and his successors the lands of Rigaboll and Skail and their pertinents, dated 7th July, 1540. The reserved lands of Ribigill and Skail continued afterwards, for some centuries, the respective glebes of the incumbents at Farr and Kintail. REG. SEC. SIG. III., 109. RLAY INVENTORY.

When Donald Mackay succeeded his brother, John, in 1529, he was under a cloud for the part which he took along with Forbes against the Seatons, consequently the nonentry of his lands was secured by Sutherland of Duffus in 1530—an evident attempt to get possession of Strathnaver lands similar to that by Sutherland of Dirlot at an earlier period. Some difference afterwards arose between Mackay and Duffus as to the lands of Kerrownashein, near Lochnaver, which Duffus claimed to hold from the church of Moray in virtue of the grant of the same to Reginald Chein, and also as to the nonentry dues of the estate of Mackay since 1530. The matter was submitted to the arbitration of James, Earl of Moray, who decided as follows in 1542:— ORIG. PAR. SCOT. II., ii., 710.

"In presence of the parties he gave as his decree that, understanding the great slaughters and injuries committed on each other by the ancestors of the parties, in consequence of their disputes about the above subjects, and for the purpose of avoiding such injuries in future, he ordained that William Sutherland should alienate to Donald Mackay and his heirs the lands which he held of the church of Moray, to be held by IBID II., ii., 711.

Donald of that church for the yearly payment of 12 merks to the said church . . . . . that for the lands held of the church and their dues, Donald should pay William the sum of 250 merks, and for the nonentry and dues of the other lands 450 merks, in all 700 merks."

This decreet arbitral put Donald in full possession of the lands of Strathnaver, including Kerrownashein, which latter Joanna of Strathnaver bestowed upon the church of Moray before 1260.

Towards the close of 1542, the king resolved upon a war with England and summoned a muster at Lauder, to which Donald Mackay and his son Iye Du repaired accompanied by a goodly number of their clansmen, victualled for 40 days. As many of the nobles and commons had become alienated from the king in consequence of his opposition to the Reformation, the muster was not a large one, and there was an utter lack of enthusiasm. The disorderly army which set out for England under Oliver Sinclair, towards the close of the year, was completely routed at Solway Moss, and many of its leading men taken prisoner, among them Iye Du Mackay who was carried captive into England. Donald Mackay returned to Edinburgh along with the king within three days after the affair at Solway Moss, as appears by the king having then granted to "Donald Makky of Farr and his airs" the escheated property of several persons in the north, absent from the king's host at Lauder, dated 28th Nov. 1542. Shortly thereafter the king died of a broken heart, leaving an only child, a few days old, Mary afterwards Queen of Scots; so that upon Scotland once more fell the calamity of a long and troubled minority abounding in shameless misrule.

BLK. MS.

APPENDIX No. 20.

Iye Du Mackay, son of Donald of Strathnaver, joined some others of the Scottish leaders taken prisoner at Solway Moss in promoting, at the instigation of the English king, as shall be shown more fully, a marriage between the infant Mary of Scots and the Prince of Wales. Lennox, Glencairn, Angus, etc., were the leaders of this faction, and may be styled the Anglo-Protestant party to distinguish them from the Franco-Romish party of Huntly, Cardinal Beaton, the Guises.

1545-8] The Bishop of Caithness, Robert Stuart, took his departure for England and joined his brother, the Earl of Lennox, in promoting this scheme. For so doing he was declared rebel and deprived of his see, about 1545, but on abandoning Lennox and the Reformation party it was afterwards restored to him. When Bishop Robert of Caithness set out to join his brother, he made some arrangements with his relatives, the Earl of Caithness and Mackay, for the protection of his castles and churchlands. In consequence of this, Caithness occupied Scrabster Castle, near Thurso, and Donald Mackay advancing into Sutherland placed a party of his clansmen in Skibo Castle, under the command of Neil Mackay, an Aberach. Meantime, George, 4th Earl of Huntly, secured the appointment of his own brother, Alexander Gordon, as "postulate" of the see of Caithness, and was naturally supported by the Gordon Earl of Sutherland in the endeavour thus to capture the revenues of the bishoprick.[1] The Gordon plot, however, came to nothing, as Bishop Robert returned and was pardoned.

Sir Wm. Fraser says that during the absence of Bishop Robert Stuart,

> "The see of Caithness had been bestowed in a provisional sort of way"—no doubt Huntly procured this from Queen Mary who was then about three years of age—"upon Alexander Gordon, a brother of George, Earl of Huntly, who was styled postulate of Caithness. The Earl of Caithness and Donald Mackay of Farr, at their own hand made free with the bishop's lands,"—there is no proof for such a statement beyond what Sir Robert Gordon says, and we are not prepared to accept his bare word on such a question—"but by 1548 Robert Stuart had succeeded in making his peace, and was back in Caithness seeking repossession of his bishoprick."

On the 28th April, 1549, the bishop brought together at Girnigo

1 Such were the venality and avarice of the higher clergy of this period that the historian, John Major, a faithful son of the church, writes:—"But now for many years we have seen shepherds whose only care it is to find pasture for themselves, men neglectful of the duties of religion. . . . . By open flattery do the worthless sons of our nobility get the governance of the convents . . . . . and they covet these ample revenues, not for the good help that they thence might render to their brethren, but solely for the high position that these places offer." Major's *History of Greater Britain*, pp. 136, 137 (Scot. Hist. Soc.)

Castle the Earls of Sutherland and Caithness and Donald Mackay, and "all four, on apparently quite equal terms, entered into a mutual bond of friendship and defence, swearing to be faithful to each other for all the days of their lives." This is the account of the affair which an honest writer gives, based upon documents at Dunrobin. In our Appendix we give the bond drawn up at Girnigo, which Sir Robert Gordon describes with his usual untruthfulness, as a bond of service so far as Mackay was concerned.

SUTHR. BK. I. 109.

We shall now hear what Sir Robert Gordon has to say on the subject.

"Thereupon the Earls of Huntly and Sutherland coming north into Sutherland, they did summon the Earl of Caithness and Mackay to compeir before them at Helmsdale, to answer for their intromission with the bishop's rents. . . . . The Earl of Caithness compeired . . . . . and the more to testify his submission, he crossed the river of Helmsdale with great danger, on foot, which was then so deep and overflown, by reason of the floods and speats of rain, that the water came to his breast, as he passed the same. . . . . Donald Mackay was also at this time brought to the Earls of Huntly and Sutherland, who (upon Mackay's submission) pardoned him what was past; yet he was at their command imprisoned in the Castle of Fowlis, as I have shown already; by which means the diocese of Caithness was for some years in peace and quietness. Thus was Robert Stuart repossessed in his own bishoprick."

ERLD. OF SUTHR. P. 112.

Contrast the picture drawn by Sir Robert with that of Sir Wm. Fraser: the former shows the Earl of Caithness sprawling in the river of Helmsdale with the terror of the Gordons upon him, the other shows him sitting in his own castle of Girnigo hospitably entertaining friends. As for Donald Mackay "he is brought," presumably a prisoner with both hands tied behind his back, or for that matter packed in a creel! In his case Sir Robert does not deign to say how. Such is history *a la* Sir Robert; and yet from this historian many quote with as much assurance as we would from the apostle Paul!

About this time the Mackays seem to have once more raided the Rosses of Balnagown as the following shows, dated 28th June, 1550.

1550-5] "Donald Macky of Far, Neil McAne Moir, Rory McAne Moir, Murdoch McAne Moir, John McAne Moir, and Tormat McAne Moir, brothers, and Donald Du McCorkill, charged for the cruel slaughter of Alexander McAne Ross, etc. . . . . Alexander Ross of Balnagown was amerciated for not reporting and delivering to the clerks of justiciary the letters which had been purchased by the wives, children, parents, and friends of the deceased duly executed and endorsed." PITCAIRN'S *Trials* i., 52.

Evidently the feud with the Rosses, during which Angus Roy Mackay, grandfather of Donald, was burnt to death in Tarbet church, still continued.

Donald Mackay, who died towards the close of 1550, married Helen, daughter of Alexander Sinclair of Stempster,[1] second son of William, Earl of Caithness. Soon after Mackay obtained legal entry of his lands, he resigned a part of them to the Crown in order to secure for his wife a life-rent interest in the said part, viz., the lands of Balnaheglais and Golval, the lands of Straye, Armadale, Renowy, Melnes, Dirlot, Cattock, Broynoch, the water of Farr from the big ford to the sea, the water of Halladale from Bighouse to the sea, the water of Straye, the water of Hope from the loch to the sea. His wife, Helen, obtained a life-rent charter of these lands, dated 22nd February, 1545, which we give in our Appendix. The issue of this marriage was one son and two daughters :—

i. Iye Du Mackay, who succeeded, and of whom an account follows.

ii. A daughter, who married John, 4th Aberach Mackay chieftain, and had issue as given in our Genealogical Account of the Aberach Mackays.

iii. Florence, who married Neil Macleod of Assynt and had issue, as see Douglas' *Baronage*, p. 392, as also the *Blk. MS.*

1 In the reign of King James V., Alexander Sinclair of Stempster had a charter under the Great Seal, dated 2nd November 1529, as follows:—"Alexandro Sinclair de Stamster et Elizabeth Innis, suae sponsae, terrarum de Dunbeath, Rae, et Sandside, in Baronian Dunbeth." *Reg. Mag. Sig.* and *Blk. MS.*

XII. Iye Du.

1550-72.

IYE DU MACKAY as we showed already took part in the affair of Solway Moss (November 1542), and being captured was carried prisoner into England, along with the greater part of the other Scottish leaders present in the engagement. King Henry VIII., keenly set upon a union of the two kingdoms, sought to promote this object by a marriage between his son Edward and the infant Mary, Queen of Scots. He treated the Scottish prisoners with great cordiality, offered them liberty to go back to Scotland without the usual ransom money, provided they promise to advance the proposed marriage in the northern kingdom; but in case of failure they were to return to England as on parole. The prisoners acquiesced in this proposal, which found support not only among the Scottish refugees political and religious sheltering in England, but from many across the border who hoped thereby to promote a reformation of religion in Scotland. It was about this time that John Elder, a Caithnessman in holy orders, addressed to King Henry VIII. that curious document[1]

1. The document gives an interesting glimpse of the social condition of the north at this period, as the following extract, which we transcribe into modern English, shows:—"Please it your Majesty to understand, that we of all people can tolerate, suffer, and away best with cold, for both summer and winter (except when frost is most vehement, going always bare legged and bare footed, our delight and pleasure is not only in hunting of red-deer, wolves, foxes, and wild-boar, whereof we abound and have great plenty, but also in running, leaping, swimming, shooting, and throwing of darts; therefor, insomuch as we use and delight so to go always, the tender delicate gentlemen of Scotland call us Redshanks. And again in winter, when the frost is most vehement (as I have said), which we cannot suffer bare footed so well as snow, which can never hurt us when it come up to our girdles, we go ahunting, and after that we have slain red-deer, we flay off the skin bit by bit, and setting of our bare feet on the inside thereof, for lack of cunning shoemakers, by your Grace's pardon, we play the sutors; compassing and measuring so much thereof as shall reach up to our ankles, pricking the upper part thereof also with holes that the water may repass when it enters, and tie up with a strong thong of the same, meeting above our said ankles, so, and please your noble Grace, we make our shoes".—*Col. de rebus Alb.*

1543-8] printed in *Collectanea de rebus Albanicis*, advocating a union of the two kingdoms by the marriage of Edward of England to Mary of Scotland.

Many of the Scottish prisoners in fulfilment of their promise went north during the spring of 1543, but having failed in their object, owing to the opposition of the Queen-mother and the Romish party, they returned to England according to parole. Meantime the Earl of Arran was made Governor of Scotland by the said party, but Glencairn, Angus, Lennox, etc., some in Scotland and others exiles in England, formed a strong league, and attacking Arran on Glasgow Muir in 1544 were defeated with considerable loss. Among those who took part in the conflict at Glasgow was "Y McKy de Far" and, presumably, nineteen of his followers, as is shown by the remission[1] which Iye Du afterwards obtained from the Regent Arran for this offence, dated 10th March, 1554, shortly before the latter was elbowed out of office by the Guise party and joined the other faction. After the failure at Glasgow Mackay again returned into England, where he remained for three more years in the military service of that country, along with many of his compatriots.

DIURNAL OF OCCURRENTS p. 32.

In May 1546, the exasperated reformers, in revenge for the burning of Wishart, assassinated Cardinal Beaton; and in the following year an English army advancing into Scotland to force the marriage of Edward and Mary fought a pitched battle at Pinkie, where the Scots were overthrown and Huntly taken prisoner. It is very probable that Mackay took part along with other Scots in assisting the English that day, but certain it is that he took a prominent part under Lord Grey in the capture and fortification of Haddington during the spring of 1548. For the offence committed at Haddington in supporting the English, Mary granted a pardon to Mackay fourteen years thereafter, when he helped her in bringing Huntly to book, as shall be more fully described later. Sir Robert

1. Remission to "Y McKy de Far et XIX aliorum, pro ipsorum proditoria venientia contra Dominum Gubernatorum super moro de Glasgw, Ac pro omnibus aliis accessibus etc., proditoria traditione in propriam personam Regine tantum exceptand." *Reg. Sec. Sig.*, Vol. 27, p. 4.

Gordon states that about this time Iye Du "served divers tymes in wars upon the borders, against the English: in which service he behaved himself valiantly." The records show that he fought not against but with the English. The personal valour and military skill with which Sir Robert credits him was no doubt acquired in the service of England, while fighting against the ruling party in Scotland, but in so doing he was helping directly and indirectly to promote the cause of reformed religion in his own country. In the cruel conflict which lay before him he had need of skill and valour to preserve the interests of his house, which in weaker hands would have gone to pieces. For twenty long years after this he had to fight against the combined power of the Gordon Earls of Sutherland and Huntly, with one hand practically tied behind his back, for he could get no legal title to his father's lands.

EARLS OF SUTHR. P. 135

On the death of his father in 1550, Iye Du returned to Strathnaver to secure the estate, but this was not an easy matter owing to his past conduct and to the influence which his opponents, Sutherland and Huntly, had with the governing party. The unbridled power of Huntly, in particular, was becoming a source of danger in the north. Lauchlan chief of Macintosh was executed at Aberdeen, during the summer of that year, on a trumped up charge of disloyalty to Huntly, as if the latter were a petty monarch. The son and heir of the Macintosh, a boy seven years old, "having many enemies, was privately carried over to the laird of MacKay, namely, Aoidh mac Donald vic Ky (who was of kin to this Macintosh by his mother, and was a chief favourite of the Macintosh family)." The boy, however, was intercepted on the way north by some Mackenzies who fostered him very kindly in Gairloch. That same year the Queen-mother accompanied by Huntly, Sutherland, the Bishop of Caithness, etc., went over to France to intrigue against the Regent Arran, and returned in 1551 when a meeting of Parliament was held. At that meeting the Earls of Sutherland and Huntly had their first innings against Mackay, who had made himself obnoxious to the Guise party

MACFARLANE'S *Collections.*

TABLE A.

Key Pedigree: The Mackays of Strathnaver.

I. Iye, son or nephew of Kenneth Morach, b. 1210 c. (See Table p. 27.)

II. Iye Mor, m. dau. of Walter de Baltrodi, Bishop of Caithness, c. 1264.

Morgan.

Martin.

A quo Galloway Mackays.

III. Donald, b. 1265 c., m. dau. of Iye of Gigha.

IV. Iye, k. at Dingwall by Nicolas Sutherland, 1370.

V. Donald, k. at Dingwall along with his father, 1370.

Farquhar, physician to King Robert II.

(?) *Marjota*, handfasted wife of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, had a son, Earl of Mar.

A quo Clan Erchar.

VI. Angus, m. dau. of Torquil Macleod, of Lewis, d. 1404.

Huistean Du.

Martin.

Neil.

A quo Polson Mackay.

VII. *Elizabeth*, sister of Donald, Lord of the Isles, (1st wife).

Angus Du, k. 1433. = A dau. of Alexander Carrach Macdonald. (2nd wife).

Rorie Gald, k. at Dingwall, 1411.

VIII. Neil Vass, released from Bass Rock, c. 1457, m. dau. of George Munro of Fowlis.

John Aberach Mackay.

A quo Aberach Mackays.

IX. Angus Roy, k. at Fearn, m. a dau. of Mackenzie of Kintail.

John Roy.

X. John, m. but no male issue.

Iye Roy, m. dau. of Norman O'Beolan of Carolway, Lewis; d. 1517.

Neil.

A dau. m. to Sutherland of Dilred.

A dau. m. Hector Mackenzie of Auchterneed.

XI. John d. without male issue, 1529.

Donald, m. *Helen* Sinclair of Stempster; d. 1550.

A dau. m. Hugh Macleod of Assynt.

XII. His cousin, *Helen*, dau. of Hugh Macleod of Assynt. (1st wife).

Iye Du Mackay, d. 1572. = *Christian*, dau. of John Sinclair of Dun. (2nd wife).

XIII. Donald Balloch.

A quo Scoury Mackays. (*See* Table D).

John Beg, k. at Durness, 1579.

Elizabeth Sinclair. (1st wife).

Huistean Du, d. 1614. = *Jane* Gordon. (2nd wife).

William.

A quo Big-house Mackays. (*See* Table E).

XIV. *Christina*.

Donald, 1st Lord Reay. (*See* Table B).

John.

Annas, m. Sir of Brims.

y, m. 1st, Sir Hector Munro; 2nd, Alex. Gunn of Killearnan.

A quo Strathy Mackays (*See* Table F).

by his late support of the English claims. The deceased Donald Mackay of Strathnaver was declared to have died illegitimate, his son Iye Du was disinherited and his lands bestowed upon Bishop Reid of Orkney. Of course, Bishop Reid was a mere *tulchan*: the milk was intended to be drawn by others.

REG. SEC. SIG.

1552 the Queen-mother and Regent Arran held a court at Inverness to which John of Moidart, the Earl of Caithness, Mackay, etc., were summoned, but all the three refused to put in an appearance. Mackay knew that Inverness meant irons, and wisely stayed at home. On the 13th September, 1553, a complaint was laid before the Privy Council that Mackay and Caithness caused slaughters, spoils, etc., in the north, and Caithness was again summoned to appear at Inverness before Huntly, "Lieutenant General of these parts." The following year Huntly received a commission to apprehend John of Moidart, but failed in the enterprise, and by a strange turn of the wheel Huntly found himself flung into prison by his opponents. About the same time Sutherland was empowered to apprehend Mackay, and to this end made great preparations. While Sutherland marched with a large force of northern levies, Kennedy of Girvanmains was sent from Leith with a fleet to co-operate by sea. Kennedy sailed during the month of August, 1554, on board the ship "Lion," laden with cannon taken from Leith, and manned by 50 marines and 20 men-at-arms. The principal point of attack was Mackay's stronghold, Borve Castle, on a promontory of the Aird of Farr. When Mackay found Borve beseiged and battered by artillery both ashore and afloat, he left the castle in charge of his cousin, Rory mac-Ean mor, and quietly slipping away made for the heights of Strathnaver, whence with a body of Aberachs he made a dash into Sutherland and set the country a-blazing, as Sir Gobert Gordon informs us. Skilful captain though he was, the odds against Mackay were too great. Borve Castle was broken down after a sanguinary seige, Mackay was at last captured and imprisoned in Dumbarton Castle, where he lay from 1st February to 20th October, 1555.

BALLOUR'S ANN. I. 396.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT

IBID.

1555-62] At a circuit court held at Inverness this same year (1555), the Queen-mother rewarded the Earl of Sutherland by a pension of 1000 merks, which was to cease "when the queen was able to confer on him wards and marriages, or on some friends such a benefice as should be equal to that amount. At the same time she conferred on him the care of the earldom of Ross, and appointed him bailie of the lands of Farr." Thus Sutherland was enabled, by the assistance of a fleet from Leith and levies of men throughout the north, not only to capture his neighbour, Mackay, who was fighting for his rightful patrimony, but to get Mackay's lands in stewartship and to earn a yearly pension of 1000 merks to boot. The capture of Mackay must have been considered or represented as a great exploit in view of these rewards. While Mackay was lying in Dumbarton Castle his clansmen did not let the grass grow under their feet. His cousin John Mor entered Sutherland "with a company of the best and most resolute men in all Strathnaver, spoiling and wasting the east corner of the province of Sutherland," says Sir Robert. During this raid the Mackays had a fierce fight at Garvary in the Berriedale hills, and are declared defeated by Sir Robert, as a matter of course!

SUTHERLAND, 1561

Francis the husband of Queen Mary died in December, 1560; the following year the widowed queen returned to Scotland, and in 1562 resolved to visit Elizabeth, Queen of England. Letters, dated May, 1562, were sent to Mackay commanding an escort to accompany Mary on her journey south, but the project was suddenly abandoned. The queen not having gone to England, as she intended, set out on a tour towards Inverness by way of Aberdeen in August of that year. The Guises had flattered Huntly with the prospect of the widowed queen's hand for his second son, Sir John Gordon, but Mary would have none of it. A few days after her arrival in Aberdeen, such was the queen's resentment towards Huntly for his political duplicity that she refused to go three miles out of her way to visit his house, notwithstanding a pressing invitation. When Inverness was reached Mary resolved to lodge in the castle, but was refused admission by

BUK. MS. AND TREASURER'S ACCOUNT

the governor, a Gordon, who held the castle as the representative of Lord Gordon. This was lording it rather too much for Mary's taste. The neighbouring clans were immediately summoned to her standard, and next day the Macintoshes, Grants, and Frasers having joined the royal escort took the castle and hanged the governor. After a few days stay at Inverness, Mary set out for Aberdeen on her return journey, and as an attack from Huntly was anticipated the assembled clansmen escorted her safely all the way. At Aberdeen, on the 5th October, the queen granted Iye Mackay a full remission for joining the English at Haddington and for all other acts against the Government, as was already shown.

APPENDIX No. 22.

On the 17th October, Huntly was put to the horn and commanded to deliver up his house of Strathbogie, but he refused to do so and strengthened himself in Badenoch. The clans who were at feud with Huntly were given a free hand to deal with him, and among his most vehement opponents were the Macintoshes, Mackays, and Forbeses, who were no doubt glad to get such an opportunity. Huntly, game to the last, advanced to meet them, but was completely overpowered and slain in battle at Corrichie. His second son, Sir John Gordon, was taken prisoner and soon thereafter executed at Aberdeen. On the 28th May of the following year, the embalmed body of Huntly was arraigned in the presence of Mary at the bar of Parliament—"the coffin was sette upright, as if the Earle stoode upon his feet"—when he was duly found guilty of treason, his lands escheated to the Crown, his dignity extinguished, his arms cancelled, and his posterity declared henceforward incapable of bearing office within the realm of Scotland! On the same day the Earl of Sutherland, who had meantime fled the country, was also condemned to death by Parliament for art and part in Huntly's treason, but this latter sentence was never carried into execution, and four years thereafter it was reduced, when Sutherland was permitted to return to Scotland. These dreadful sentences give some idea of the way in which the law was administered in those rude, unsettled days. The irony of the

FOR. CAL. ELIZ. V., 586.

ACTS OF PAR. I., 579-81.

1565-7] situation appears when it is remembered that within four years thereafter, Mary in her distress had to lean for support upon the son and heir of the very Huntly, whose dead body she dragged to the bar of Parliament!

The queen created Darnley Lord of Ardmanach and Earl of Ross on the 15th May, 1565, on the 18th June she bestowed upon him the lands of Strathnaver, and on the 29th June she married him. The union was a short and unhappy one. On the 29th February, 1567, Darnley was blown up at Kirk O' Fields, and it is generally supposed that Bothwell and George Gordon, now restored to the earldom of Huntly, bore some guilt in this affair. On the 3rd May of the same year Lady Jane Gordon, Huntly's sister, divorced her husband, Bothwell, in order to facilitate, as many suppose, his projected marriage with Queen Mary which took place about a fortnight afterwards. That there was collusion between Bothwell, his wife, her brother Huntly, and the queen in connection with the shameless divorce proceedings, appears very likely. Huntly's feelings, however, were salved by the queen's gift of Mackay's escheated lands of Strathnaver, which Parliament ratified on the 19th April at a packed meeting, attended by very few members owing to the deplorable misconduct of the queen at this period. To round off the shameless imbroglio, Alexander, Earl of Sutherland, discarded his wife, Lady Barbara Sinclair, and married by a dispensation of the Pope, Lady Jane Gordon, the lately divorced Lady Bothwell. Sir Robert Gordon, the historian, who took such a pleasure in bastardizing his neighbours, was a son of this marriage by dispensation. No doubt the marriage was an astute move on the part of Sutherland to get some share of Mackay's escheated lands. At anyrate it so turned out, for Huntly eventually passed them over to Sutherland.

Reg. Mag. Sig.

We shall now consider the plea upon which Mackay's lands were escheated and given to Huntly. It was asserted that Donald Mackay, the father of Iye Du, was a bastard, and consequently debarred by law from inheriting his father's estate; but bastard or

APPENDIX Nos. 13, 19, 20.

not he held the said lands on a charter under the Great Seal granted to him by King James V., and added considerably to the estate by purchase and otherwise. Donald's father did contract an irregular marriage, a common enough practice in those days, but he obtained a precept of legitimation from the king for his two sons, John and Donald, dated 8th August, 1511.[1] It seems most unjust to punish the grandson for a slight flaw in his grandfather's marriage—a flaw which was afterwards remedied—especially seeing that the son of the said marriage duly succeeded to the inheritance. There was a flaw in Queen Mary's own marriage with Darnley, and the issue, James VI., was a bastard according to the very canon law by which Iye Du Mackay was disinherited. Father Pollen shows conclusively that the necessary dispensation to legalise the marriage of Mary and Darnley, which took place on the 29th June, 1565, was not issued by the Pope till the 24th September of that year, for a marriage which had by law to be contracted thereafter. Mary in her haste married before the dispensation was issued, and her marriage was at fault in consequence. Nay more, the English Catholic exiles, who were opposed to James VI.'s succession to the throne of England in the event of Elizabeth's death, objected to James' legitimacy because there was no proper dispensation given for the marriage of his father and mother. In the light of these facts Iye Mackay must appear as a badly used man.

SCOT. HIST. SOC. XXXVII.

It was no wonder although Mackay became furious when he heard what had taken place. Realizing that the ultimate gainer in this transaction must be the Earl of Sutherland, as Huntly was too distant to make use of the Strathnaver lands, he burst into Sutherland, wasted the barony of Skibo and set the town of Dornoch on fire. That same year he returned again and made havoc on Strathflete, according to Sir Robert Gordon. Huntly raised the matter in Parliament, and had the following notice entered on the minutes:—"26 December, 1567, Item, be quhat means may all Scotland be

1. Preceptum legitimationis Johannis et Donaldi Makky, fratrum, filiorum Odonis Makky de Strathnavern, etc., in debita forma, cum novis additionibus, etc. Apud Edinburgh, VIII Augusti anno Domini MVCXI, et Regni Regis XXIIII: *Reg. Sec. Sig.*, Vol. IV., p. 145.

1570] brocht to universal obedience, and how may McKy be dantonit." This question was doubtless raised to terrorize Mackay; but we do not find that any action was taken, for the pendulum of influence began to swing the other way. Mary was now in disgrace, and Moray, the friend of Mackay and the opponent of Huntly, was Regent. If the Regent Moray had not fallen prematurely at the hands of an assassin it is probable that Mackay would have come to l' own.

Huntly conscious of the uncertainty of the times found it prudent to arrange a settlement with Mackay, which the latter accepted with a wry face upon the advice of his friend Lord Forbes. An agreement was concluded at Aberdeen, 29th July, 1570, between Huntly, Sutherland, and Mackay, by which Huntly alienated all the Strathnaver lands to Mackay for the paltry sum of 3000 merks, retaining the feudal superiority however. This small sum, which was about sufficient to cover the legal expenses of the transaction, tells its own tale. To acknowledge the superiority of Huntly, however, must have been a bitter pill to Mackay, but it could not be helped. Some years thereafter, the son and heir of Huntly disponed the said superiority to the Earl of Sutherland, and then for the first time the house of Sutherland became the superior of the house of Mackay; but that matter shall be discussed and exposed in the proper place. Suffice it to say, meantime, that Mackay had sasine of the lands of Strathnaver the 20th April, 1571, on a charter of alienation by Huntly.

APPENDIX No. 23.

IBID. No. 26

Few men could have fought so successfully and for such a length of time as did Iye Du Mackay, against the combined power of the Gordons in the north at this period. If he came out of the twenty years' conflict winged, small wonder; it was not a fair fight. Sword in hand he could hold his own with the best of them: after ransacking the north for levies, the Gordons must needs bring a fleet from Leith at the expenses of the Government to capture him. No, it was a foul pen in a corrupt court that did the dirty deed to Mackay. If this were the place, we could show that about the same

period Huntly secured superiority over other Highland chieftains by somewhat similar left-handed means.

In the transactions regarding the lands of Strathnaver between Huntly and Mackay, Lord Forbes did the kinsman's part to the latter, as various documents among the *Reay Papers* show. The warrant granted by Huntly, dated 23rd February, 1570, was in favour of Lord Forbes and Iye Mackay, the former to retain the charter of infeftment, post dated, until the latter handed over the money to Huntly. Again, when full payment was made in July of that year the witnesses were Alexander Dridmont of Medoc, William Cidney, notar, burgess of Inverness, Patrick Forbes servitor to Wm. Lord Forbes, and Mr James Forbes servitor to Mr Donald Forbes of Menymusk. These facts serve to show how closely knit together the Mackays and Forbeses were at this time. About 1529 we saw Donald Mackay assisting Forbes, and now we find the Forbeses assisting the son of Donald Mackay. There must be truth in the statement of later writers, that the Mackays and Forbeses believed they sprang from a common stock.

REAY PAPERS.

Meantime Mackay vigorously maintained his alliance with George, Earl of Caithness, who held the earldom of Sutherland in ward in consequence of the youth of Alexander, Earl of Sutherland, and was also Justiciar of Caithness, Strathnaver, and Sutherland. Although Sutherland escaped to his brother-in-law Huntly, Caithness held to his rights of wardship and found a willing ally in Mackay. For so doing Sir Robert Gordon draws the character of the Earl of Caithness in lurid colours, but he was not by any means so black as the chronicler would have us believe. Modern popular writers, who make Sir Robert their historical *vade mecum*, describe Caithness as "Earl George the wicked." There is very little reason to believe that the Justiciar was much worse than his contemporaries.

During the years 1571-2, while Huntly, with the assistance of the escaped Earl of Sutherland, assailed the Forbeses in Aberdeenshire with considerable success, Caithness and Mackay swept everything

1571-2] before them in Sutherland. Caithness took and occupied Dunrobin Castle, while Mackay and the Master of Caithness went up and down the country hustling the Earl of Sutherland's followers, until scarce one man of standing remained to oppose them. Murray of Aberscross fled to Strathbogie, Gordon of Drummuie to Orkney, Gray of Skibo to St. Andrews, and the chieftain of Clan Gunn to Glengarry. During these peregrinations of Mackay and Sinclair they spoiled Dornoch; and as some of the Murrays fled to the cathedral and kept up a shower of arrows from the steeple, the sacred edifice was given to the flames. In all these warlike demonstrations Mackay seems to have acted as leader, in consequence of his military experience. If Mackay's court influence had in anyway equalled his skill with the sword, Huntly would never have wrung from him the agreement of 1570.

EARLD. OF SUTHR.

We conclude that Mackay was a man of more than ordinary strength and of iron endurance, for two years before the close of his life, and when an old man, he was overtaken by a snowstorm of such severity, while crossing the Crask in the dead of winter, that 18 of his company perished and only two or three of the stoutest managed to push on along with him. This was more than an ordinary feat for a man of about 70 years of age. The cruel misrepresentations of Sir Robert Gordon have led some to conclude that Iye Du lived a wild, turbulent life. Of fighting he certainly did more than his share; but much of it was on the side of civil liberty and for the reformation of religion in Scotland, which is more than can be said for the "virtuous" paragons before whom Sir Robert would have us fall down.

IBID. P. 164.

Iye Mackay died in November 1572, as appears from a document among the *Sutherland Papers*, according to Mr Mackay of Blackcastle. His first wife was his first cousin, Helen, daughter of Hugh Macleod of Assint, who bore him two sons. As the marriage of first cousins then required a dispensation of the Pope to make it legal, and as Mackay ne[illegible]d to secure this, the children were debarred from

BLK. MS.

the succession by canon law. The children of this marriage were :—

i. John Beg, who was killed in a skirmish at Balnakeil, Durness, 1579.

ii. Donald Balloch, who became progenitor of the Scoury Mackays, and whose descendants are given in our account of that family.

The second wife of Iye Du was Christian, daughter of John Sinclair of Dun, Caithness, by whom he had two sons and three daughters :—

iii. Huistean Du, who succeeded his father, and of whom an account follows.

iv. William of Bighouse, who became the progenitor of the Bighouse Mackays, and whose descendants are given in our account of that family.

v. Eleanor, who married Donald Bane Macleod of Assint.

vi. Jane, who married Alexander Sutherland of Berridale.

vii. Barbara, who married Alexander Macdavid, chieftain of the clan Gunn. The eldest son of this marriage was William Macallister, chieftain of Gunn, who succeeded to the lands of Killernan 19th February, 1614, as is recorded in a document at Dunrobin of which an extract is given in the *Blk. MS.*

XIII. Huistean Du.

1572–1614.

WHEN Iye Du Mackay of Strathnaver died in 1572 his son Huistean Du[1] was barely eleven years of age. From that date onward for about twenty years Scotland was sadly torn and grievously misgoverned. A prisoner in England, intriguing for personal liberty and for the supremacy of the Romish religion, Queen Mary kept the country in a ferment until the axe ended her career upon the block in 1587. Her son, James VI., was during all this time a minor, now in the hands of one faction and then in that of another, tossed to and fro like a ball and often a close prisoner practically. The great barons schemed and fought to advance their own interests with little regard for those of the country generally, some of them in the pay of France and others in that of England. The strong and crafty grasped what they could; the weak were trampled upon, and oftentimes robbed by the arm of the law. It stood ill with justice then, unless it happened to be well supported by the strong hand.

In the far north Alexander, Earl of Sutherland (who attained his majority in 1573), and George, 4th Earl of Caithness, were arrayed in deadly feud the one against the other. Both were strong, and unscrupulous in keeping with the time. Behind Sutherland was George, 5th Early of Huntly, whose sister, Lady Bothwell, Sutherland

1. He signed his name Houcheon Macky, but was and is known among his country men as Huistean Du na Fuaigh, that is, Black Hugh of the Battleaxe, in consequence of his fondness for the axe as a weapon. Houcheon is a form of Huistean: the English equivalent is Hugh.

married; but Caithness was strong too in the possession of the justiciarship of these northern parts, including the country of Sutherland. Between them lay the boy Huistean Du, fair game for both, and weak withal in that he was the head of a divided clan. As Iye Du died within two years after obtaining a charter for his lands, he had not sufficient time to consolidate the interests of his house; and when his strong skilful hand was removed those who followed the banner of Mackay began to fall asunder. There was also a difference of opinion in the Clan as to who was the rightful chief. Some favoured John Beg and Donald Balloch, sons of the first marriage—an irregular one according to canon law because it was a marriage of first cousins—while others supported Huistean Du, a son of the second marriage. When Huistean obtained legal possession of his lands, he bestowed Scoury upon Donald Balloch, the only surviving son of the first marriage, and in this way effected a kind of settlement; but meantime, and at a very critical juncture, the two families were disunited.

Young Huistean and his brother William, afterwards of Bighouse, became wards of George, 4th Earl of Caithness, with whom they resided at Girnigo until the elder of the two was fit to take the government into his own hands. Meantime John Mor, an accomplished and experienced soldier, cousin of Iye Du, governed Strathnaver as tutor. It was this John Mor that led the Strathnaver men when Iye Du lay a prisoner in Dumbarton, and it was his son Rorie who held Borve Castle during its siege in 1554. The Earl of Caithness, not finding John Mor pliant enough, inveigled him down to Girnigo and there had him put to death. Then John Beg, the half-brother of Huistean, took up the reins in Strathnaver; but he also proved so unsatisfactory in the eyes of the Lord of Girnigo, that he instigated the Aberachs to attack him on the plea of alleged unfaithfulness to Huistean. This the Aberachs and the Macleods of Assynt did at Balnakiel, Durness, in 1579, killing John Beg, William Gunn brother of the chieftain of the Robson Gunns, and many others; while the

[1579-83] chieftain of the Mathiesons, who was with John Beg, barely escaped with his life. The affair of Durness was most embarrassing to Mackay; it broke up his late father's followers into two sharply divided parties. The Robson Gunns (the friends of John Beg) and the Mathiesons were ranged in deadly feud against the Macleods and the Aberachs, the latter a powerful family of Mackays.[1] These two factions, but especially the Aberachs and Gunns, maintained for many years a bitter intestine warfare, which resulted in nothing that we are aware of except their own injury. On the fall of John Beg, Huistean Du in his eighteenth year picked up the reins of the unruly team himself. As he could not unite the two factions he had to choose between them, and his choice fell upon the party opposed to the Aberachs. The latter then rushed into the open arms of the Earl of Sutherland, who was only too glad to acquire such allies. It does not appear that the Aberachs and Huistean Du ever became thoroughly reconciled, neither does it appear that there was much warm attachment between them and his successor, Donald, 1st Lord Reay, during the earlier years of his government. In these circumstances Huistean was heavily handicapped for the struggle that lay before him.

Towards the close of 1576, George, 5th Earl of Huntly, suddenly died leaving a son, George, 14 years of age, who became 6th Earl of that name. That same year Huntly conferred upon Alexander, Earl of Sutherland, the ward and nonentry of the Strathnaver lands, from the date of Iye Du Mackay's death. Sutherland, however, failed to secure possession of the person of the minor, Huistean Du, as his friends had placed him under the protection of the Earl of Caithness. In 1583 George, 4th Earl of Caithness, died at Edinburgh and was succeeded by his grandson, George, 5th Earl of that name. In this year also, George, 6th Earl of Huntly, came of age and forthwith gave the superiority of Strathnaver, which his father had obtained from Queen Mary in 1567, to his aunt's husband, and his own curator,

SUTHR. BK. I. 141.

1. Sir Robert Gordon, writing a few years later, says that the Aberachs are "the most populous race of the Clan vic Morgan at this day":—*Earls. of Suthr.*, p. 304.

Alexr., Earl of Sutherland, in exchange for the lands of Aboyne. It is questionable whether this transaction was strictly legal.[1] Be that as it may, Sutherland hastened to fortify the much prized gift as best he could.

By some manoeuvring on the part of Sutherland at this time, a sister of young Huntly was given in marriage to the young Earl of Caithness. This was no doubt an astute move to create a line of cleavage between Mackay and Caithness, which unfortunately for both of them was eventually too successful. So long as Mackay and Caithness stood together, notwithstanding the defection of some of Mackay's clansmen, they were more than a match for Sutherland; but once they fell asunder they both became his prey in the circumstances. Sutherland now drew another arrow from his quiver which he shot cleverly. In 1588 he resigned Huntly's gift of the superiority of Strathnaver into the king's hands, and on the 29th May of that year induced his Majesty to convey the said superiority by a charter under the Great Seal to his eldest son and heir, John Master of Sutherland, a boy of nine years, now created Lord Strathnaver. Thus, what Queen Mary in an hour of shame and desperation gave to the 5th Earl of Huntly as a bribe, and what the 6th Earl handed over to his curator, Sutherland, in exchange for the lands of Aboyne, the latter now resigned to the king in order to secure it by royal charter to his own son and heir.

Sutherland Bk.

We shall now retrace our steps a little and consider the situation in the north about 1585, but in so doing, unfortunately, our authority for the most part is Sir Robert Gordon. On the one side the houses of Sutherland and Huntly stood firmly together, as they had done during the past 75 years, having now along with them the Aberach Mackays and some Macleods of Assynt, confederates in the fight at Durness. On the other side stood the Earl of Caithness, Huistean Du Mackay with his followers, and the Robson Gunns, by no means

1. In the Parliament of 1401, during the reign of King Robert III., an Act was passed to prevent the common practice of imposing a new superior upon a vassal without his consent: – *Le Livre Manstalem*, p. 51, etc. Certainly Mackay's consent was never asked and would not be given.

1585-6] so firmly welded together. There were strong ties binding Mackay to Caithness; the former was fostered at Girnigo and his wife was an aunt of the earl, but on the other hand the earl was about to be married to a sister of Huntly. As for the Gunns, their bloody feud with the Aberachs during the past six years compelled them to cleave closely to Mackay for protection.

In 1585 the Earls of Huntly and Sutherland had a meeting with the Earl of Caithness at Elgin, when the two former earls endeavoured to break up the confederacy of Sinclair, Mackay and Gunn. On condition that Caithness helped to destroy the Robson Gunns, they offered him an alliance sealed by the hand of Huntly's sister in marriage. To destroy the Gunns, who were a thorn in the side of Sutherland and a tower of strength to himself and to Mackay, was a proposal which Caithness should not have entertained for a moment; and if it had been made to his late grandfather he would have rejected it with scorn, as would any sensible man. But the present Earl of Caithness, who had none of his grandfather's wisdom and prudence, weakly agreed to the proposal though on his return home he changed his mind. In consequence of this vacillation Caithness was invited to another meeting with the two earls at Dunrobin, and this time Mackay was also asked to join in the conference. Mackay, however, flatly refused to take any part in the meeting, but Caithness went and a second time agreed to the suicidal policy of destroying his best friends, the Gunns.

The conspiracy against the Gunns made such progress that in 1586 two parties, the one equipped by the Earl of Sutherland and the other by the Earl of Caithness, set out to surround and to cut them off. The Gunns, duly apprised of the state of affairs, retired from Caithness into the hills of Strathnaver carefully watching the movements of the pursuing Sinclairs; and now a strange thing happened, which completely upset the calculations of the two earls. At this juncture William Mackay, afterwards of Bighouse, raided the Macleods of Corrie-Kinloch, at the head of Loch Shin, taking much

spoil in cattle. As the Mackays were returning home with the "lifted" cattle, they came athwart the Sutherland men advancing in search of the Gunns, and a plucky fight for the spoil was the result. All day long the Mackays fought a rear-guard action, taking advantage of the inequalities of the rough ground to hold their opponents in check, as they drove the cattle along. From this circumstance the battle came to be known as La Tom Fraoich, that is, the Day of the Heather-Bush, as they skirmished from bush to bush.

Towards daybreak the following morning the Mackays stumbled across the Gunns, retiring before the Sinclairs, in the neighbourhood of Altgawn, and after a hasty consultation it was resolved to join forces and give battle to the men of Caithness. The Sinclairs unaware of what had taken place, and under the impression that they were about to attack the Gunns only, boldly pressed up the hill under a shower of arrows. In an instant, the Gunns and the Mackays rushing sword in hand swept them down the brae, killing their leader, Henry Sinclair, cousin of the Earl of Caithness, and seven score of his followers. When the Earl of Sutherland's party, a little later, discovered what had taken place they discreetly returned home as quickly as possible, leaving the Mackays and the Gunns in undisturbed possession of the spoils.

At this time Huistean Du Mackay was at Girnigo endeavouring, no doubt, to stiffen his alliance with the Earl of Caithness and to moderate the latter's zeal against the Gunns; but when the news of Altgawn reached them such was the anger of Caithness that Mackay had to fly home for safety. Redoubled efforts were now made by the two earls to crush the Robson Gunns, who finding that Mackay could not protect them retired into Ross, to be severely handled at Leckmelm that same year by their inveterate foes, the Aberach Mackays. That one section of Huistean Du's clansmen should help the Gunns at Altgawn, and another defeat them at Leckmelm very soon thereafter, clearly shows how sadly divided the Mackays were at this period.

1587] The zeal of the Earl of Caithness for the Gordons could not and did not last long, for the Earl of Sutherland was bent upon self aggrandizement. The lands of Strathullie which Adam, Earl of Sutherland, gave to Caithness in 1516, and the church-lands of Caithness which Bishop Robert gave to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Sutherland, at the Reformation, were the immediate questions in dispute between the two houses. The present Earl of Sutherland sought to recover the lands of Strathullie and to exercise jurisdiction over church-lands within the earldom of Caithness, in a way that offended the Earl of Caithness. Here was material enough for an explosion, to which George Gordon of Marle in Strathullie speedily applied the match. As some riding horses of the Earl of Caithness were fording the river near Marle, on their way home from Edinburgh in charge of servants, Gordon took the liberty of docking their tails and of sending his compliments to Girnigoe in somewhat unparliamentary terms. To avenge this insult a party was secretly dispatched to Marle who killed Gordon in February, 1587, and meantime preparations were made to invade Sutherland on a large scale.

The following month (March), Caithness supported by the Master of Orkney, Huistean Du Mackay, etc. advanced towards Helmsdale with a considerable force of Caithness, Orkney, and Strathnaver men. They found the Earl of Sutherland supported by the Macintosh, Mackenzie of Redcastle, Munro of Contalich, etc., posted on the western bank of the river, and for some days there was constant skirmishing between the armies on both sides of the water. While this was going on the Earl of Sutherland intrigued to break up the Caithness confederacy, and to this end sent Macintosh secretly across the river to urge his friend Mackay to desert the Earl of Caithness; but Huistean Du would not listen to such a proposal. An other party from the Sutherland side paid a secret visit to the Earl of Caithness, offering certain terms on condition that Mackay be not included in the treaty. To this proposal the weak-minded Caithness foolishly

EARLD. OF SUTHR. P. 195.

and basely agreed. As soon as Mackay discovered that Caithness had proved false once more, he evacuated his position opposite Marle and marched his men home to Strathnaver in disgust.

Huistean Du clearly saw that the vacillating Earl of Caithness, who had lately sacrificed the gallant Gunns at the bidding of the Gordons, and who had now proved dastardly false to himself, was not to be trusted. While Alexr., Earl of Sutherland, with consummate ability was striving to break up the opposing confederacy, George, 5th Earl of Caithness, with consummate folly was unintentionally playing into his hands. In these circumstances Mackay, convinced of the impracticability of the Caithness alliance, having discarded his wife, Lady Elizabeth Sinclair,[1] aunt of the Earl of Caithness, showed a disposition to come to terms with the Earl of Sutherland, and received every encouragement to do so.

The situation was as follows, briefly stated. Alexr., Earl of Sutherland, who had obtained the ward and nonentry of the lands of Strathnaver and the superiority of the said lands, both from Huntly, resigned these gifts into the king's hands in 1588 in order to secure them by royal charter for his son, the Master of Sutherland, that same year. Huistean Du Mackay, who came of age in 1582, refused all along to admit the superiority of the Earl of Sutherland, and consequently found himself without any legal charter to his father's lands in 1588, when mutual friends endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between him and Sutherland. During the sixteen years that the lands of Strathnaver were in nonentry (since the death of Iye Du), the dues mounted up to £50,000 Scots, but such was the anxiety of Sutherland to secure the alliance of Mackay, that he offered to cancel these dues[2] and to give him the hand of Lady Jane Gordon, his eldest daughter, in marriage on condition that Mackay

1. Alexander, Earl of Sutherland, had discarded her sister, Lady Barbara Sinclair, his first wife; so that both these ladies were very unfortunate in their marriages. The foul charges of adultery, which Sir Robert Gordon brings against these ladies, we do not accept: if this were the place to do it, we believe we could show that these stories are false.

2. A cancelled bond to this effect, amounting to £50,000 Scots, is preserved among the *Reay Papers*.

1589] acknowledged his superiority. Mackay agreed and married Lady Jane in December, 1589, but he never did reconcile himself to the position of vassalage which he now occupied towards his father-in-law, and which put his house inferior to that of Sutherland for the first time in history.

Mackay did not obtain warrandice of the lands of Strathnaver until John, Master of Sutherland, who held the superiority by royal charter, attained his majority and succeeded to the earldom. In this there was no hardship, however, as Mackay never had to pay nonentry and succession dues, but it served to keep him faithful to Sutherland. As there was some dispute regarding the fifteen davoch church-lands of Durness, the matter was submitted to arbitration, and eventually Mackay secured them in perpetual fee for the yearly sum of £84 Scots,[1] which his descendents ever afterwards continued to pay to the family of Sutherland, until the latter purchased the property in 1829. REAY PAPERS

As soon as the Earl of Sutherland secured the alliance of Mackay "he bendeth himself altogether against the Earle of Catteyness." This was just what he had been working for all the time, and if Caithness had been a wise man he could have prevented it. Sutherland picked a quarrel, and advancing across the Ord accompanied by Mackay, Macintosh, Munro, etc., swept the country to the walls of Girnigoe Castle, whither the Earl of Caithness had retired. As the castle was too strong to take without artillery, the assembled troops were permitted to sack the town of Wick, and so thoroughly did they carry out the congenial task that even the resting places of the dead were pilfered. In search of jewellery, they burst open the vaulted tomb of the Earls of Caithness and, under the impression that they had discovered something of value, carried off a leaden casket containing the heart of the late EARLD. OF SUTHR. P. 195.

1. The Sutherland family held these lands of the Bishop of Moray for a similar duty of £84 Scots, which lapsed, no doubt, on the final overthrow of Episcopacy in Scotland. This serious loss of church property greatly impoverished the livings of Strathnaver ever afterwards. Cardinal Sermonetta in a letter to Pope Paul IV. regarding Scotland, dated 1556, writes: "For about 40 years various prelates and other ecclesiastical persons have alienated (usually in favour of the more powerful nobles) a great quantity of immovable goods of notable value belonging to churches etc.": —Pollen's *Papal Negotiations*, p. 528 (Scot. Hist. Soc.)

earl. La na Creich Mor, The day of the Great Spoil (February, 1589), is the name by which the exploits of that day were commemorated.

The late allies of the Earl of Caithness, the Mackays and the Robson Gunns, whom he had so madly alienated, were now in the field against him and had their revenge. It should also be observed that the family of Sinclair never afterwards held the same commanding position in northern politics. At Whitsunday of the same year, MacHamish Gunn of Killearnan again wasted Caithness with great ferocity. "They ranged at large, spoiled and wasted frielie all the countrie before them, filled many places with rwyne and desolation, pursued the enemie with bloodie execution, so long as their furie did last. . . . . and this was called Creach ne Kamish." In June following, James Sinclair of Murkle, brother of the Earl of Caithness, made a counter raid into Sutherland but was met in the heights of Brora by Mackay, where a fierce fight took place in which Huistean Du used his battle-axe to some purpose. Sir Robert Gordon, who is never lavish in his praise of Mackays, writes:—

EARLD. OF SUTHR. P. 198.

"Mackay, with bold adventure of his own person, of all the rest most forward. . . . crossed the water which was betuin him and the enemie, with some few gentlemen in his company. . . and although the danger was apparent, yet the Sutherland men were ashamed to forsake him, who did fight so manfullie in their defence, with a resolute courage and undaunted heart."

EARLD. OF SUTHR., 199.

It is evident that whatever may have been Huistean Du's defects, like his father he did not lack courage. The following year (1590), the Earl of Caithness invaded Sutherland in person, and advancing as far as Brora fought stubbornly. Meantime Mackay slipped over Drumholstein and spoiled Caithness to the gates of Thurso. Well might the unhappy Earl of Caithness rue the day he basely deserted the Mackays and the Gunns—he was suffering for it now. Neither had Mackay his sorrows to seek because of the bloody intestine warfare raging in Strathnaver, for some time after 1590, in which the

IBID. 174.

1601] Aberach Mackays took such a conspicuous part. D[illegible]'s are lacking but this strife seems to us very senseless and suicid[illegible]—it just suited the policy of the Sutherland family, and greatly helped its advancement.

Alexander, Earl of Sutherland, an exceedingly able man, died in 1594, and was succeeded by his son John, who married Agnes, daughter of Lord Elphingstone, Treasurer of Scotland. Through the Treasurer's influence Earl John obtained the earldom of Sutherland and other lands in regality upon a false issue. Let Sir Robert speak:—

"Alexander Elphingstoun being theasaurer of Scotland, John Earle of Sowtherland, by his means, took a new infeftment of the whole earledome of Sotherland, by resignation thereof into his majestie's hands, in the moneth of April 1601 yeirs; not onlie confirming the old regalitie of the earldome of Sutherland, granted by King David Bruce to William, the third of that name, Earle of Southerland, the year 1347 [1345], bot also conteyning divers other privileges." EARLD. OF SUTHR. 43

The other p[illegible]s were, the lands of Strathnaver and the church-lands of the [illegible]cese of Caithness in regality, together with the hereditary sheriffship of Sutherland and Strathnaver. Sir Robert says that this charter of regality was a royal confirmation of the ancient charter of regality granted by King David Bruce to William, Earl of Sutherland. That it was so is further shown by the wording of the document in which the Earl of Sutherland afterwards, 1 July, 1631, resigned the sheriffship of Sutherland, part of the gift, into the hands of King Charles I—it is printed in *Dates and Documents etc. of Sutherland* by Mr Loch. Having referred to the charter of regality granted by his father to the Earl of Sutherland, King Charles proceeds:—

"Lykeas unquhile David the Secund, His Majestie's predecessour of worthie memorie, be his Chartour and Infeftment of the dait at Lanerk, the tenth day of October, and seventene zeir of his reyne, gave granted and confirmet to unquhile Williame, Erle of Sutherland, and to his Majestie's sister Margaret, spous of the said Erle, and to thair airis, to be

gotten betuix thame (of quhome the said Johne, now Erle of Sutherland, is lineallie discendit) the said Erldome of Sutherland in ane frie regalitie for ever."

Thus the document of 1631, which is founded upon the document of 1601 conveying the regality, concludes that the Earl of Sutherland was a lineal descendent of the marriage of William of Sutherland and Margaret Bruce. It is very evident that King James VI. granted the 1601 charter of regality on the representation that the Sutherland family was descended of the marriage with Margaret Bruce, and under the impression that by so doing he was only confirming the charter of 1345. But we have already shown at page 46 that the only son of the Bruce marriage died childless, that the Sutherland family is not descended of that marriage, and that the charter of 1345 became consequently null and void. Without a doubt the facts were misrepresented to the king.

EARLD. OF SUTHR., 239.

The question is who imposed upon King James through Treasurer Elphingstone? We suspect it was Sir Robert Gordon. Sir Robert had just finished his education at St. Andrew's University about this time, and his knowledge of history fitted him to piece together the historical argument which prevailed with the king. Sir Robert's nephew, the 1st Lord Reay, believed his uncle capable of forgery, and charged him with the same in a letter which we give in our Appendix No. 35. We have already abundantly proved that Sir Robert could lean considerably from the truth to serve a purpose; and we would again draw our reader's attention to the quotation from Sir William Fraser which we gave at page 47.

That there was a motive to perpetrate a fraud of this kind is evident. A charter in regality, which included the lands of Strathnaver and the church-lands of Caithness, would immensely strengthen the grip of the Sutherland family over these lands and especially over the kicking Mackay. Even this charter with its almost regal power left Sir Robert doubtful as to whether the Sutherland family could maintain its superiority over Mackay. So

1601] anxious was he about the matter that he refers to it at large in his *Farewell Letter of Advice* to his nephew, the Earl of Sutherland. Here was motive enough, in our opinion. Perhaps the very consciousness that he was the author of a fradulent story accounts for Sir Robert's persistent thumping of the drum, "Sutherland's feudal superiority over Mackay, from time immemorial." APPENDIX No. 6.

In the face of the facts which we have related, the Sutherland family has no reason to glory in its ill-gotten "superiority" over Mackay. From the time that Queen Mary conveyed Mackay's lands to Huntly in 1567, we see nothing creditable in the various transactions by which the superiority passed from hand to hand, until at last in 1601 the king was induced by a falsehood to confirm it in regality to the house of Sutherland.

The relations between Caithness, Sutherland, and Mackay continued so hostile for some years after the sack of Wick, that on the 25th July, 1595, the Privy Council bound the three over to keep the peace, and at the same time made Caithness find caution to the extent of 20,000 merks. Six years thereafter (1601), the Earl of Caithness, on the plea of hunting in the Reay Forest, began to assemble such a force of armed men, that the suspicions of Mackay were aroused as to the pacific intentions of the excursion. Mackay, having despatched messengers to his allies, marched with his assembled troops towards Kinbrace, and took up a position between Lochan Gainvach and Loch Badinloch, thus barring Caithness' advance towards the forest. Speedily to Mackay's aid came the Earl of Sutherland, Munro of Contalich, and Macleod of Assynt with such a force of men, that when Caithness made his appearance he found himself unexpectedly opposed by a considerable array. The two armies now manoeuvred for position, and in the evening it looked as if there was going to be a big fight, but ere the morning the Caithnessmen, who had no stomach for such a mad enterprise, broke and fled without drawing a sword. To mark their bloodless triumph the Munros, Macleods, Sutherland, and Mackays raised a

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heap of stones on the shoulder of Ben Griam and exultingly dubbed it Carn Teichidh, Cairn of Flight. Notwithstanding his galling discomfiture Caithness made a similar attempt in 1607, but with as little success.

P. C. Reg. . . By an act of the Privy Council, 31st January, 1602, the Earl of Sutherland and Huistean Du were called upon to raise a levy of 100 men to assist Elizabeth, Queen of England, in putting down an Irish rebellion. In this revolt of the Earl of Tyrone and Red Hugh O'Donnell of Ulster, which had been in progress for some years, a few of the Hebridean chiefs took an active though not a glorious part; and now King James, who had a good prospect of succeeding Elizabeth in the throne of England, extends his assistance to her.

In 1608 Huistean Du and other mainland chiefs were called upon by the Privy Council to furnish aid to the king's officers in subduing the Lews, and in establishing the Fileshire company of adventurers, to whom his Majesty had given certain grants of land in that island about 1598. On the 9th July missive letters are directed to the Earl of Caithness, Balnagown, Donald Neilson of Assint, Mackay of Strathnaver, and Fowlis, calling upon them to attend with their followers his Majesty's service at Troterness on the 20th August next. Their armed men must furnish themselves with powder and bullets out of their own pay, and not at the king's expense, but the Lieutenant of the Isles is to be allowed "10 stane of lead, with lunt effeiring theirto."

1610.

In order the more effectively to subdue the Lews, the superintendence of the opposite mainland was committed to the Earl of Argyle, the Marquis of Huntly, etc.: and the headmen of the mainland opposite, Mackay among them, were charged by an order of Council not to reset rebellious islesmen within their bounds—the order was dated 8th February, 1609. A few weeks thereafter (26th March), the Privy Council proceed against Caithness, Mackay, etc., for not giving sufficient assistance to the Government in the Lews business—Caithness who was present found caution, but

1610

1600-13] Mackay who did not put in an appearance was denounced rebel. These harsh measures indicate the king's bitterness at the failure of his pet scheme in the Lews, but it does not seem that Huistean Du suffered much inconvenience thereby, for very shortly thereafter he appears in the record as in the full possession of his rights and liberties. Perhaps Mackay's sympathy with the Macleods of the Lews may account for the following earlier entry in the Privy Council Register, 18th February, 1600.

"Caution in 10,000 merks by Hutcheon Mackye of Farr, as principall, and John Earl of Sutherland and Arthur Master of Forbes, fiar thereof, as sureties for the said principall, that he and his men shall keep the king's peace and redress parties skaithed, conform to the law."

The marches between Sutherland and Strathnaver caused for a time friction, but in April, 1613, the questions in dispute were submitted to the arbitration of four mutual friends at a conference at Kildrumy, in Mar, to wit, Lord Elphingstone and Sir Robert Gordon on the one side, and Lord Forbes and William Forbes of Menie on the other, Sir Robert acting as umpire. Sir Robert tells us "it was a hard matter for him to beir himself evinlie in so friendlie and ticklish a case." We strongly suspect that he did not even try "to beir himself evinlie" on this occasion, if his *Farewell Letter of Advice* speaks truly, as we believe it does.

In business and political transactions Huistean Du, like his father Iye Du, maintained a familiar intercourse with the house of Forbes. As we saw, the Master of Forbes was his cautioner in 1600, and again in 1613 two Forbeses acted as his chosen arbiters. If to this we add that in various registered documents he styled himself "Mackay Forbes," the close connection becomes more evident. In 1589 Mackay became a vassal of Sutherland, but by this addition to his surname he proclaimed to the world, as we think, his alliance as well as his kinship to Forbes. That he was contented in that inferior position is not for a moment to be entertained, regarding a man who fought so long for feudal freedom. The Sutherland yoke,

which was but of yesterday, was galling, and he probably hoped that with the assistance of the Forbeses his family might some day recover their feudal independence. We suspect that this was the reason for the surname "Mackay-Forbes."

APPENDIX No. 8.

Of his successor, Sir Donald, afterwards 1st Lord Reay, Sir Robert Gordon writes (1630):—"Sir Donald McKy hath neither served nor doth intend to serve himself heir to his father or grandfather." The meaning of this is plain. Sir Donald, having gained some footing in the king's favour, refused to bind himself to Sutherland's superiority but as little as he could. He was in this respect the heir of his father's struggle.

The failure of Huistean Du to reconcile the Aberach Mackays was a great misfortune to his cause. We are not in a position to allocate the blame, but we venture to think that when Huistean Du settled the lands of Scoury upon his elder brother, Donald Balloch, he ought to have settled the Aberach lands of Strathnaver upon Neil macEan macWilliam, the Aberach chieftain, and his father's cousin. Not only were the Aberachs strong to fight his battles, but in former generations were the stay of his father's house on many a stricken field from Drum nan Coup downwards. The story of Huistean Du's life would take a different complexion with the Aberach Mackays at his back, and this he could have had by a timely grant of the lands which they looked upon as their own.

As to the social and religious condition of Strathnaver at this period we cannot say much[1]. The Earl of Caithness was not a friend of the Reformation, neither was Alexr., Earl of Sutherland, who died in 1594, nor his successor, Earl John, who died in 1615. These

1 In 1609 what are known as the "Statues of Icolumkill" were agreed to by the Hebridean chieftains in response to a royal overture. The nine clauses, which cast much light upon the social condition of the north and especially of the Isles, may be condensed as follows:—(1) Churches were to be repaired, and handfast marriages were declared illegal; (2) inns were to be set up for the accomodation of travellers; (3) masterless vagabonds were to be cleared out of the islands; (4) sorners [*sojourners*, such as commandeered free-quarters] were to be dealt with as thieves and oppressors; (5) the importation of wine and whiskey was forbidden, in consequence of excessive drinking; (6) every head-man was to send his eldest son to school in the south in order that he might learn to speak English; (7) the carrying of fire-arms was proscribed; (8) bards were to be placed in the stocks, and thereafter to be expelled from the islands; (9) every chief to have power to apprehend such as broke the Icolumkill Statues:—*Privy Council Register*, Vol. IX., 24ff.

1614] three earls were at different times warded or compelled to find caution in consequence of their religious views, as the *Privy Council Register* shows. But we have not come across any entry in which Huistean Du is so dealt with. We conclude that Huistean sympathised with the Protestant faith, like his father and like his friend Lord Forbes. Further we cannot go, save to remark that his initials with date are cut on the old church at Durness. This we take to mean that he built it, for he resided at Balnakiel for the most part.

Huistean Du, who died at Tongue, 2nd September, 1614, was twice married. By his first wife, whom he divorced, Lady Elizabeth Sinclair, daughter of George, 4th Earl of Caithness, he had one daughter, Christina, who married John Macintosh of Dalzell, son of Macintosh of Macintosh. Huistean Du married, secondly, Lady Jane Gordon, eldest daughter of Alexr., Earl of Sutherland, and by her had two sons and two daughters :— BUCHANAN MS

i. Donald, 1st Lord Reay, of whom follows.

ii. John, progenitor of the Strathy Mackays, and whose issue is given elsewhere.

iii. Annas, who married John Sinclair of Brims, Caithness, 29th December, 1618. They both had Sas. on a contract of wadset of the lands of Ribigill, 14th February, 1657. John Sinclair died before 16th August, 1666, and was survived by Annas, as the *Reay Papers* show. They had known issue Captain John Sinclair of Brims, progenitor of the Ulbster Sinclairs, who was retoured son and heir of his deceased father, John, and resigned the wadset of Ribigill 13th March, 1702. An Annas Sinclair, whom we take to have been a daughter of Captain John, married Angus Mackay of Ribigill, son of Donald of Borley, and grandson of Donald Balloch of Scoury, as is shown in our account of the Scoury Mackays.

iv. Mary, married Hector Munro, brother and successor of Colonel Robert Munro of Fowlis. Hector, who joined Lord Reay's regiment, became a colonel, and was created a bart., 7th June, 1634. He died at Hamburgh, 1635, leaving a son, Sir Hector, who died without issue, and three daus. DOUGLAS' *Baronage*, p. 84.

Dame Mary Mackay, Lady Fowlis, married, secondly, her cousin, Alexr Gunn of Killearnan, Chief[1] of Gunn, son of William and grandson of Alexr. Gunn of Killearnan, the latter having married her aunt, as has already been shown. Dame Mary bore to Alexr. Gunn a son and a daughter, viz., John and Catherine, the latter of whom married her cousin, Lieut.-Col. the Hon. Angus Mackay of Melness, progenitor of the Melness Mackays.

Blk MS.

1. DESCENT OF THE MACHAMISH GUNNS. The Crowner had a son James, who had a son William, who had a son David, who had a son Alexander. The latter Alexr. married Barbara, [illegible]ter of Lie Du Mackay, and by her had William, whose son Alexr. married Dame Mary [illegible]y, daughter of Huistean Du, and by her had John Gunn of Killearnan. "Alexr. Gunn [illegible]pparent of Killearnan" (*Blk. MS.*) witnessed a sasine, 4th August, 1676, and married Christina, [illegible]daughter of the 1st Lord Reay, before 1688 (*The Gunns*). Probably John and Alexr. were brothers, and the former predeceased the latter, without issue. Alexr., who married the Hon. Christina Mackay, had by her three sons: Alexr. of Badinloch; George of Corrish; and Cap. Gunn, who died in Holland. The two sons of Alexr. of Badinloch, who were both soldiers, died without issue, and the MacHamish line reverts to George of Corrish, whose sons may be seen in the list of men capable of bearing arms in Kildonan in the '45, preserved in Dunrobin Castle. According to the Revd. Alexr. Gunn, Watten, an authority on Gunn history, the descent from Corrish was as follows: George of Corrish had a son [illegible], whose son William, whose s[illegible] Alexr. of Rackiass was the father of William Gunn, now for m[illegible]ears manager of the Spittal Works, Watten. As far as we have found evidence, it has [illegible] firm the contention of the Revd. Alexr. Gunn.

XIV. Donald, 1st Lord Reay.

1614-49.

ALLAN CAMERON of Lochiel, the recognised head of his clan since 1585, got into much trouble in consequence of the claims of superiority over him made by the rival houses of Argyle and Huntly. To begin with, he was a vassal of Huntly; but as Argyle furbished up some old writs of superiority, Allan transferred his allegiance to the latter house much to the chagrin of the Gordons, who endeavoured to punish Lochiel by stirring up a section of his clansmen against him. Allan by stratagem induced the disaffected Camerons to attack himself, and by an ambuscade completely overthrew them. Huntly then raised a hue and cry as the jealous guardian of order, brought the matter before the Privy Council and got Cameron denounced rebel and murderer,[1] with the usual consequences. On the 10th February, 1610, the Privy Council issued a commission to Lord Lovat, Mackenzie of Gairloch, Mackenzie of Kintail, Mackay of Farr, etc., for the apprehension of Allan, so that the heather was fairly alit on the Braes of Lochaber. In the ensuing operations Donald Mackay took some part. Both he and Sir Robert Gordon with 300 well appointed men proceeded as far as the town of Inverness in August, 1612; and again on the 9th December, 1613, a levy of Gordons and Mackays were summoned from the north by order of the Council to pursue Allan Cameron. In the second expedition Gordon of Embo and Donald Mackay marched with over

E. GELD. OF SUTHR.

P. C. REG.

1. For further particulars see the Introduction to the *Privy Council Register*, Vol. X.

450 men into the heart of Lochaber to co-operate with other troops, as Sir Robert Gordon informs us. But resourceful Allan managed to hold his own with the help of Argyle.

Meantime Donald was called upon to bear a hand in an affair nearer home. Sir Robert Gordon represented to the king that Arthur Smith, a native of Banff, was forging false coin in Thurso under the patronage of the Earl of Caithness. What truth there was in Sir Robert's story we cannot say, but that he sought the ruin of Caithness is evident from after events. Anyway, Sir Robert obtained a commission to apprehend Smith and prudently passed it on for execution to his nephew, Donald Mackay. In May, 1612, Mackay and Gordon, younger of Embo, with a considerable following proceeded to Thurso, where they apprehended Smith after a stubborn fight with the townspeople in which John Sinclair of Stirkoke, nephew of the Earl of Caithness, was killed and others wounded. So fiercely were they assailed, that the Mackays slew Smith in the outskirts of the town lest he should be rescued by the Sinclairs.

EARLS OF SUTHE

As the slaughter of Stirkoke had already resulted in a legal process and might provoke sterner reprisals on the part of the Sinclairs, Sir Robert Gordon induced King James, as he says himself, to grant a remission under the Great Seal, 13th January, 1614, to Donald Mackay and others for the bloodshed at Thurso, and in this manner got to windward of the Caithnessmen. At the same time, this new estrangement of the Sinclairs and Mackays suited his policy admirably. The remission, which we give in our Appendix No. 29, shows that there were two pipers of the party, and it may be of interest to observe that one of them was a Macrimmon, a member of the famous family of Skye pipers.

About this time Lord Forbes took possession of the lands of Dunbeath, Reay, Sandside, etc., which were bequeathed to him by his deceased brother-in-law, George Sinclair, and incurred in consequence the hostility of the Earl of Caithness, who considered he had a better right to these lands himself. The quarrels which

1615] speedily followed ranged the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Forbes, and Mackay in opposition to the Earl of Caithness, and sent the whole four up to Edinburgh for leg... arbitrament. During the conflict before the Council, the Earl of Caithness produced William Kemp, burgess of Edinburgh, 24th March, 1615, to testify to a plot against him, and his evidence was as follows:

"Deponis that he came yisternight to the Erll of Caithness & desyrit him to tak heade to him self, for thair was people in this toun that bore him no goode will & were his unfriendis. Deponis he reveillit this to the Erll of Caithness upoun this occasion: to witt, that yisterday, aboute foure of the cloke in the afternoone, he being in his awne house, he hard three gentlemen who were in the nxt house, and ane wall of mud onlie betwix them, speeke amangis thame selffis in thair drinking that the Erll of Caithness had done a ruffle to McKy, and it might be that he sould rew that dayis labour; and the deponner knawis not the men, bot has seen thame in company with the Erll of Sutherland, the Lord Forbes, and McKay in thair going up and dounn the streit.

Caithness made nothing of it by his journey to Edinburgh, but this need not imply that he was wholly in the wrong, for the Privy Council of that period was a most corrupt body, appointed by the king to execute his autocratic will,[1] and often did so at the expense of justice.

As the Earl of Sutherland died in the autumn of 1615, leaving an elder son John, six years of age, Sir Robert Gordon became tutor or governor for his young nephew, and acquired considerable power throughout the diocese of Caithness during the following fifteen years. Towards the close of the year 1615, Lord Forbes' corn-yard at Sandside was set on fire and burnt to the ground. Suspicion at once fixed upon the Earl of Caithness as the instigator of the arson, and confessions were made by some Gunns that they were incited to do the deed by his Lordship. But it is not at all certain that Caithness was guilty. The Gunns hated him for his late betrayal of their clan,

1. Since the union of the Crowns, King [illegible] through the [illegible] of the Privy Council, his own nominees, [illegible] ing a tyranny which bore [illegible] when the people [illegible] claim their own.—Hume Brown's *Scotland*.

and may have sought revenge in this fashion. But guilty or not, it practically ruined him.

The astute Sir Robert Gordon, who shows himself that he had much influence with King James, got mixed up in the affair, and so hunted Caithness from pillar to post that he became a fit object of pity to his bitterest enemies. Caithness was reduced to bankruptcy, put to the horn, and denounced rebel, while his elder son, Lord Berriedale, was flung into an Edinburgh prison where he lay for five years. The tale of prosecution against the fallen Caithness recorded in the *Privy Council Register* and in the *Earldom of Sutherland* is very cruel, and there is no doubt that in this matter Donald Mackay suffered himself to become too much the accomplice of his uncle, Sir Robert.

Towards the close of spring, 1616, Sir Robert, Donald Mackay, Lord Forbes, etc., proceeded to Edinburgh in connection with the prosecution of the Earl of Caithness, and having set the machinery of the law in motion, such as it was, Sir Robert and Mackay went up to London where the latter was knighted, as Sir Donald Mackay of Strathnaver. Sir Donald returned north by way of Fife and accompanied by Lady Mary Lindsay, sister of Lord Crawford, reached Durness by boat about the middle of August. Lady Lindsay's trip to Durness was the occasion of just resentment on the part of Sir Donald's wife, Lady Mackay, as the *Privy Council Register* shows.

P. C. Reg. xi.

From about this time Mackay sheered off more and more from his uncle, Sir Robert. He came to see that Sir Robert's plan was to crush Caithness with one hand and to destroy himself with the other. As far as the house of Mackay was concerned, Sir Robert's policy was, as enunciated by himself in his *Advice* to his nephew of Sutherland, "use Mackay rather as your vassal than as your companion; and because they are usually proud and arrogant, let them know that you are their superior. Let Mackay his pincell [banner] never be displayed when yours is." The advice was foolish;

1618-22] and small wonder if the man who received the counsel and acted upon it brought heaps of trouble upon himself, as the future will show. There lay in this policy two generations of strife, during which both families were brought to the verge of ruin, because the one family was just as proud as the other.

The erratic Earl of Caithness in his accumulating distresses stretched out his hands towards Mackay, his late enemy but the natural ally of his house, and in April, 1618, Sir Donald paid a visit to the earl at Brawl Castle, when there was delivered to him "some old writs of certane lands in Strathnaver and other places within the dyacie of Catteyness, appertayning to some of Sir Donald his predicessors." Evidently these writs came into the possession of the earl's grandfather when Huistean Du Mackay was his ward, and probably many valuable documents belonging to the Mackays were lost at that troublous period. The information which Sir Donald got in these old writs would naturally increase his estrangement from the house of Sutherland, and make him more determined than ever to stand on his guard. EARLD. OF SUTHR. P. 351.

It will be remembered that on two previous occasions the Earl of Caithness attempted what was expected to have a warlike object under the guise of a hunting expedition. The earl seems to have had as much faith in a hunting expedition as Mr. Weller, senior, had in an *alibi*, for on the 22nd June, 1619, the Privy Council, at the instigation of Sir Robert Gordon, inhibited the Earl of Caithness and Sir Donald Mackay from making such an expedition in Sutherland, as it was believed they meant mischief. Two years after this (August, 1621), Mackay refused to meet his uncle at Elgin for a settlement of their disputes, but in May of the following year they had a meeting at Tain, and entered into an argument regarding the marches between Strathnaver and Sutherland. P. C. REG. XI.

During these years Sir Robert Gordon was very much at Court and a prime favourite there, as he takes good care to inform his readers. On the 25th May, 1621, the king advised the Privy Council

to grant Sir Robert a commission of Fire and Sword against the Earl of Caithness, but he did not move forthwith although the commission was offered to him. To smite Caithness was of his own seeking, but he wanted to do it in a way of his own. After conference with the king upon the point (June, 1623), Sir Robert appeared before the Council and got them to insert in the commission the names of Sir Donald Mackay, Sir Alexr. Gordon, and James Sinclair of Murkle, along with his own. At the same time, letters were issued commanding the inhabitants of Ross, Sutherland, Strathnaver and Orkney to assist Sir Robert in the execution of his task. To insert the name of Mackay in a commission of Fire and Sword against the Earl of Caithness, now his friend, was a clever move, and more was to follow. In order to eliminate all hazard of firing a shot, Sir Robert got the Privy Council to make it criminal for Caithnessmen to carry or use fire-arms, 29th July, 1623.

P. C. Reg.

Having carefully removed every element of danger out of the way, Sir Robert set out for Caithness in September, and marched from victory to victory receiving the keys of no less than three castles, as he tells us in most grandiloquent language. Sir Robert did not catch his man; but what of that, he swept every thing before him! And such was the terror of his name that not a hostile shot was fired in all Caithness! But remember, good reader, the Caithnessmen were disarmed before Sir Robert ventured to cross the Ord, and were consequently not in a position to lift a musket. Although his name was in the commission, Sir Donald took no part in the inglorious campaign. He only appeared in Wick when all was over, to be told by the pseudo-hero that his services were not now required.

On the 20th August, 1623, "Sir Donald McKay of Strathnaver" was appointed by the Privy Council a Justice of the Peace for Sutherland and Strathnaver, and on the 11th November of the same year the inhabitants of Strathnaver petitioned the Council through Sir Donald to be exempted from the prohibition to carry fire-arms, which had lately been passed against the inhabitants of the diocese of

1624-6] Caithness. About this time Sir Donald began to add largely to his landed estate. In 1624 he bought the lands of Reay, Sandside, etc. from Lord Forbes, the Little Isles of Strathnaver, formerly pertaining to Farquhar, the physician, from William Macallan on the 6th October, and on the 7th April, 1625, he purchased the 27 merklands of Moidart and the 24 merklands of Arisaig from John McRonald, Chief of Clan Ronald. But in order to raise money for his Continental military expedition, he had to sell the lands of Moidart and Arisaig to Colin, Earl of Seaforth, towards the close of the year 1626.

P. C. Reg., Vol. XIII

Appendix No. 32.

Reg. Mag. Sig.

The great Thirty Years' War, in which Frederick, Elector Palatine, son-in-law of James VI, took such a prominent part on the Protestant side, was raging on the Continent. It eventually developed into a European war of Protestant *versus* Catholic States, and found many active English participants who drew the sword partly out of sympathy with the king's son-in-law, and partly out of sympathy with their co-religionists abroad. Sir Donald Mackay heard the brazen blare of the war-trumpet in distant Strathnaver, saw an opportunity of taking part in the struggle, and found himself overmastered by the fighting instincts of his race. So far as we can gather, Sir Donald was not strongly religious, but he was warlike and ambitious. Though not over rich it was not the want of money that drove him abroad, for there was no money in the cause when he espoused it, and certain it is that he did not increase his wealth thereby. The ill-gotten charter of regality by which Sir Robert Gordon governed the north so circumscribed Mackay's energies at home, that he felt constrained to lure Dame Fortune in a wider field abroad by the offer of his sword. In pursuance of this object, he sought liberty from King Charles I. to raise a regiment for the assistance of Count Mansfelt, then in the field supporting the Elector. The crave had an immediate response.

"The Privy Council granted a commission in virtue of warrant from his Majesty of date 3rd March (1626), empowering Sir Donald of Strathnaver to levy a regiment of 2000 men anywhere in Scotland and

transport them to the Continent for service under Count Mansfelt. . . . . The Council on the same day addressed a circular letter to a number of lairds in the Highlands representing that, as they had many idle men within their bounds, they could not do better than urge all such to enlist under Sir Donald and his captains, so that they might be trained in military discipline, and be creditably employed on good wages abroad, instead of loitering uselessly at home."

P. C. REG., I., ii., P. XLIX.

In raising his regiment Sir Donald wisely adopted the plan of getting young adventurous men of good families to earn a commissoned rank by securing so many recruits. The response was unparalleled in our country, so far as we know. Before the 15th May, or in a little over nine weeks, 3600 troops officered by the cream[1] of Scotland's fighting men, Highland and Lowland, were ready for the lagging transports. The bulk of the rank and file were "bonny men" from the glens and islands, with a sprinkling of broken-men,[2] sorners, etc., who with such a backbone made a splendid fighting machine. Probably a hardier lot never left our rugged shores for war's gory field, and we are not surprised to learn that they carved for themselves the proud title of "The Scottish Invincibles," in consequence of their prowess under the great Gustavus Adolphus.

IBID.

Although Mackay's regiment was ready for embarkation before the 15th May, for lack of transports they were not able to sail from Cromarty until the 6th October. Meantime "Mackay seikned and hardly escaped," and the troops had to depart without him. But Mackay embarked at Leith on the 18th January following, and joined his regiment in Holstein, towards the end of March, where it lay in winter quarters. As Christian IV, King of Denmark, uncle

EARLD. OF SUTHR. P. 401.

1. "There were (at the least) thirty of that regiment, which went out of Scotland with Lord Reay, who came to be colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and seargent-majors; a rare thing, the like whereof hath not bin seen": —*Earld. of Suthd.*, p. 450.

2. It was this fact that gave rise to the Gaelic couplet: —

"Na h-uile fear a theid a dhollaidh
Gheibh e dolar o MhacAoidh."

Every one that is down in his luck
Shall get a dollar from Mackay.

1627] of Charles I., had by this time joined in a Protestant alliance of Britain, the Dutch States, and Denmark to oppose the Austrian Imperialists, Mackay took service under the Dane and forthwith had his men sworn in.

The Mackays had their first bloody baptism towards the end of July at Boitzenburg, on the Elbe, where four companies under Major Dunbar, left to guard the town, were assailed by Tilly with about 10,000 men. Thrice did the Imperialists rush to the assault but they were as often driven back with great gallantry, and at last had to retire with the loss of over 1000 men. As Dunbar's four companies only numbered 800 altogether, they gave a very good account of themselves in their first tussle.[1]

Their next great exploit was at the Pass of Oldenburg, which Sir Donald was instructed to hold at all hazard, in order to enable the Duke of Wiemar to embark his troops at Heiligenhafn. From daybreak to sunset of a late October day, Mackay held the pass with his men against an overwhelming host under Tilly. Torn and stung by shot and ball, they clung to the position with a heroic tenacity which defied the indomitable Tilly. As may be imagined their losses were very heavy. Sir Donald himself was severely wounded by the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder, but he grimly stuck to his post; while Sir Patrick McKie of Largs and other officers had to be carried off the field. When the regiment went to winter quarters shortly after this, of the 3600 men who had embarked at Cromarty, only a twelvemonth before, but 800 whole and about 150 maimed survived. In other words, in a four months' campaign they lost three-fourths of their number. Truly the glory of war is bought at a great price!

As the regiment was in such a reduced state, Sir Donald started for Scotland soon afterwards accompanied by special officers to beat up new recruits; but we imagine he had some difficulty in getting the requisite number. Since the embodiment of Mackay's regiment P. C. Reg., i., ii., p. lxxxiii.

1. The interested reader, who desires a more detailed account of the exploits of this regiment, should consult *Munro his expedition with the worthy Scots regiment, called Mac-Keies regiment* (published 1637), and *An old Scots Brigade* (published 1885).

Scotland had been denuded of her fighting men, for she had sent abroad about 10,000 soldiers,[1] very few of whom ever returned. In the circumstances he took some time to raise his levy, and practically drained Strathnaver of its able-bodied men.

While recruiting at home Mackay proceeded to London where, on the 19th January, he obtained from King Charles I. a charter under the Great Seal of the lands of Reay, Sandside, Davochow, Borlum, Easald, Achatrescar, Auchamerland, and Showarie, as resigned by Alexander, Lord Forbes, some time previously, and now created into a barony burgh with various privileges, one of which was four annual fairs[2] at Reay. About the same time Sir Donald was created Lord Reay as a reward for his valuable services to the Danish king in the German war—the Patent of Nobility was issued 20th June, 1628. His proper and natural title was Lord Strathnaver, but the Sutherland family picked that up in 1588, when they secured the superiority of Strathnaver from the king. At an earlier date, 18th May, 1627, Sir Donald was made a Bart. of Nova Scotia, being abroad at the time.

APPENDIX No. 34.

P. C. REG., I., I., P. CIII.

Towards the close of the summer of 1628, Lord Reay set out with a levy of 1000 men and joined his regiment at Copenhagen; but the struggles of the Danish king were nearly at an end for the present, and his place was soon taken by an abler man, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, who stepped into the field as the champion of the Protestant cause. Reay took service with the Swedish king, and with the latter's commission, 17th June, 1629, returned to Scotland for more men. He was back in Denmark before the New Year, proceeded to Sweden in February, 1730, and thence passed over with his regiment to Germany, where he took part in the capture of

OLD SCOTS BRIGADE, P. 321.

1. On the 8th March, 1627, the Privy Council granted a commission to James Sinclair of Murkle to levy a regiment of 3000 men for service under the King of Denmark. Lord Speynie was also empowered by a special act to press into his own regiment all "strong, able, and counterfeit limmars, callit Gypsies," all sturdy beggars and vagabonds, masterless men and idle loiterers of other denominations, and also deserters from Colonel Mackay's former levy that may be found fugitive throughout the country:—*P.C. Register*, Vol. I., ii. Series.

2. The fairs were:- 11 August, Sanct-Reanes fair for four days; 20 October, Sanct-Geiles fair for three days; 11 December, Sanct-Kellenes fair for three days; and 8 March, Sanct-Comes fair for three days:—*Reg. Mag. Sig.*

ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF DONALD, 1st LORD REAY,
FROM THE BLACKCASTLE MSS.

16

1631] Stettin, Damm, Colberg, etc.—the capture of the latter town was a very stiff affair in which his Lordship distinguished himself. As soon as the army went into winter quarters, after a very arduous campaign in which Lord Reay's men won great renown, his Lordship once more returned to Scotland for more men. In a great war it is always men, more men!

Proudly did Mackay return to his native shores fresh from the scene of his military triumphs, but "slippery is the step at the great man's door," as the Gaelic proverb hath it. On a missive from Charles I., 5th May, 1631, the Privy Council granted warrant (2nd June) to Lord Reay to raise 2000 men for service with Gustavus. About the same time he was authorised by the King of Sweden to arrange with James, 3rd Marquis of Hamilton, as to the terms on which the latter would agree to raise 6000 men for service in Germany. The Marquis agreed, and soon Lord Reay and Hamilton's lieutenant, Ramsay, were busily engaged levying the troops; which when they had done, his Lordship proceeded to London to thank the king for his aid to Hamilton, and requesting the loan of transports for the troops.

P. C. Reg., iv., ii.

Hist. Mss. Com., 11th Report.

Ibid.

In an unguarded moment, Lord Reay confide[illegible] Lord Ochiltree, the hereditary enemy of the house of Hamilton, that the marquis intended to use the troops for treasonable purposes, as Ramsay had informed him. That the house of Hamilton often plotted against the Crown is a well known fact. Anyway, Ochiltree blazed the story abroad to the consternation of not a few; Ramsay was called up to London and denied the charge, then Lord Reay challenged him to the proof of combat. A High Court of Chivalry was formed, 20th November, 1631, to enquire into the matter, and the 12th April following was fixed as the day of combat. The combat, however, never took place, for the king interfered and sent both Ramsay and Reay to the Tower, in order to preserve the peace. "The matter here referred to," says Professor Hume Brown, "is one of the many mysteries to be found in Scottish history. . . . . .

Whether from policy or from conviction of Hamilton's innocence, Charles consistently acted as if all were well."

P. C. Reg., iv., ii., xliii.

This incident was disastrous to Reay. While his regiment was abroad gaining increased renown under Gustavus, he had to stay in London because of this miserable business; and before the matter was settled the King of Sweden fell gloriously at Lutzen and Reay was never repaid the vast sums of money he had borrowed to raise men for the German wars. Nay more, King Charles owed him £3000 which also he never received. Realizing his critical financial position, he denuded himself of his estate in favour of his son John, Master of Reay, 7th September, 1637, in order to protect the family interest in the storm which he saw looming.

Reay Inventory.

A woman is said to be mixed up in most things, and that was the case in this instance. A Mrs. Rachel Winterfield, or Herison, claimed the adherence of Lord Reay, who, she asserted, was her husband. His Lordship, says Gordon of Sallagh, obtained a decree of nulity of marriage against her on the plea that her former husband was alive when she married him. We do not think they were ever married, and ground that opinion on the following. In a letter from his Lordship to Secretary Dorchester, 18th July, 1631, he says, "the warrand for apprehending that woman who calls herself the writer's wife has expired. He has got intelligence where she lives; prays him to write to the Attorney-General to give out another warrand." Dorchester replies, 10 August, "the writer's secretary will have given Lord Reay a letter to the Attorney-General about a search after the woman mentioned by him." These documents seem to show that he prosecuted her for making a claim which he absolutely denied, and there is not a word about nullity of marriage. Anyway, when Reay's back was to the wall she caused him much trouble and expense, at the instigation of enemies, as we surmise.

Cal. State Pap., Dom. S., 1631-33.

In 1637, when King Charles was goading the Presbyterians of Scotland into revolt, the Marquis of Hamilton, who never forgave Mackay, had supreme power in Scotland, and Sir Robert Gordon was

1637] a member of the Privy Council. The lady appeared before the Council, where "William Innes of Sandside did appear for him," *i.e.* for Lord Reay.

But "the stream of the secret council was so bent against him, having formerly irritated most of them in the Marquis of Hamilton's business, by making them accessory thereto, that the sentence went against him on her side without delay. He was ordained to give her two thousand pounds sterling for her by-past maintenance during the suit, and three hundred pounds sterling yearly for her maintenance during his non-adherence." GORDON OF SALLAGH.

This was a crushing fine spitefully imposed upon a man who was known to be financially wrecked already: and it was very much the work of his unscrupulous uncle, Sir Robert Gordon, who had the meanness to forge documents in order to secure this monstrous verdict. The motive is evident. It was to compel Mackay to sell the lands along the river Naver, for which the Gordons were hungering, but it did not succeed. To pay the expense, Mackay sold the lands of Reay, Sandside, etc., to William Innes, who obtained a charter of them under the Great Seal that year. APPENDIX No. 35.

How it fared with Lord Reay during 1632-37 we cannot say—the *Privy Council Register* covering that period has not yet been published—but that a man of his active disposition and military prepossessions could remain idly at home in such a stirring time on the Continent is not likely. He had a commission from the Council to apprehend sorners etc., 6th March, 1634, a common method of raising recruits at that time, and in the letter of 1637 to Sir Alexander Gordon he speaks of "my company," indicating a military connection then existing. The probability is that he served abroad in the German wars during a portion of the above mentioned period, although we have no record of his achievements. REG. MAG. SIGI APPENDIX No. 35.

The imposition of Laud's Liturgy upon the Kirk, in 1637, raised a violent storm of resentment against the king throughout Scotland, in which the nobles joined the commons. What really alienated many of the nobles from King Charles was the Act of Revocation, passed HUME BROWN'S *Scotland.*

some years earlier, annexing to the Crown all the Church lands which fell into the hands of the bu[illegible] the Reformation. Not a few of the nobles signed the Nation[illegible] Covenant in 1638 to settle a score with the monarch who dared to [illegible] from them Church lands to which they had no moral righ[illegible] were enthusiastically anti-Prelatists. A[illegible] ation got the Earl of Sutherland into a considerable [illegible] over the Church lands of Caithness, it is probable th[illegible] to make him a Covenanter!

Lord Reay does not seem to have been in much sympathy with the National Covenant although he signed it at Inverness, 26th April, 1638, at a convocation of the northern burghs assembled for that purpose. Many other Royalists were in a similar plight; they had to sign to save their face.[1] In all civil wars it is generally the same; but from the very beginning Reay was reported to be on the king's side. Huntly was the king's leading supporter in the north, with whom Lord Reay communicated secretly and to whom he sent his elder son John, Master of Reay. In April, 1639, a ship laden with arms and ammunition for Lord Reay, and bound for Strathnaver, was driven into Peterhead by stress of weather and captured by the Covenanters. This ruined Reay's scheme of a Royalist rising in the far north, where the Mackenzies and the Sinclairs would have joined him. That same month, Montrose by a ruse captured Huntly, the Master of Reay, and others, in Aberdeen, and carried them prisoners to Edinburgh, where the Master of Reay was released upon signing the Covenant, and returned immediately to Strathnaver.

SPALDING *Memorials*, i., 87.

GORDON'S *Scots Affairs*, i., 61.

GORDON OF SALLAGH.

The Covenanter forces to the north of Spey were put under the command of Seaforth, who marched into Moray with about 4000 men, among whom were Reay and the Master of Reay "with the chois men of Strathnaver," about the middle of summer. At

1. Seaforth obtained a high command from the northern Covenanters, but he changed sides and was cast into prison. Again he became a Covenanter, and sometime thereafter had to appear in sackcloth before the Kirk at Edinburgh. So too with Mont[illegible], who first fought for the Covenanters and then became their scourge.

1639-44] Chanonrie in the Black Isle, 7th June, 1639, Seaforth and Reay joined in a secret bond of friendship which is thoroughly Royalist. Its avowed pecport was "the advancement of Religion, the king's Majesties service, and the keeping of peace. Nominally they were officers holding rank in a Covenanting army, but at heart and in their secret councils they were Royalists. Naturally they did nothing but mark time till the peace at Berwick disbanded the northern army.

APPENDIX No. 13.

Next year war broke out again, Colonel Robert Munro was appointed Commander of the northern Covenanter forces, Seaforth and Reay were called up to Edinburgh, and by order of the Tables committed to two months' free ward on suspicion of being hostile to the cause. Warded in Edinburgh, Seaforth and Reay were prevented from dividing the council of those who in the north supported the Covenant. During the two following years Reay abode at home, and does not seem to have taken any active part in the struggle, probably through lack of opportunity.

GORDON OF SALTGAUL.

In 1643 hostilities were resumed between the king and the Covenanters, the Earl of Sutherland was appointed Colonel of the horse and foot in Sutherland; and on the 17th July, Reay embarked at Aberdeen for Denmark, where he remained for some time in command of his son's (Colonel Angus) regiment. While thus engaged, Reay was in correspondence with King Charles and making strenuous preparations to come to his assistance. Early in 1644, Reay left Denmark with some ships laden with arms and treasure, to the value of about £20,000 Scots, and reached Newcastle shortly before it was invested by the Scots army.

SPALDING, *Memorials*, ii., 259.

Reay found Lord Crawford in command at Newcastle, and the two with much vigour applied themselves to the scientific fortification of the town. The siege, which began in February, proved a most obstinate one. Although a large and highly trained army under the veteran General Leslie hammered away at the town, it continued to hold out until 14th October, so gallantly was it defended.

"After the battell of Yorke, the Scotes Covenanters had all the north of England at their pleasure, only Newcastle stood for the king, which the lord Crawford and the lord Rea, both Scotes men, defended valiantlie, while generall Lesly besieged it . . . . . These two had keipt it out beyond all expectation, with much currage and resolution. as their enemies did much admire and praise ther fidelitie."

BRITANE'S DISTEMPER, P. 50 and 118.

Not till Leslie breached the walls of Newcastle with exploding mines, and shattered its fortifications, could he call the town his own. The defence of Newcastle was the most brilliant military exploit of the Royalists during the Civil war, for the dashing victories of Montrose were but rapid tumultuous Highland charges; and the credit of it may justly be claimed for Lord Reay, whose military experience on the Continent made him the most capable general within its walls. After its fall, Reay and Crawford were sent prisoners to Edinburgh Castle where they lay till August, 1645, when Montrose gained his victory at Kilsyth. Meantime the Estates proscribed Reay and others, 18th June, 1644, and ten days thereafter excepted Reay and Huntly from a pardon which they granted to malignants; but Lady Forbes interceded for Reay and her supplication came before the court in 1645. It was Kilsyth, however, that hastened the authorities to set Mackay free.

HILL BURTON'S *Scotland.*

BRITANE'S DISTEMPER, 146.

RECORDS OF PARL.

Mackay returned home and almost immediately found himself involved in a dispute with the Earl of Sutherland about lands in the Naver Valley, but the points in dispute are difficult to expiscate. Gordon of Sallagh, continuator of the *History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, maintains that Reay sold the lands along the Naver Valley to Sutherland in 1642, and Sutherland in his complaints to Parliament, whose ear he had as a Parliamentarian, claimed a right to these same lands. We find nothing in the Reay charter chests to indicate the substantiality of these claims, but much to the contrary. John Sutherland in Skelbo had sasine on a charter of apprising from John, Lord Reay, of the lands of Kerrownashein, 8th January, 1652, and his heir, Alexr. Sutherland of Torbol, had a similar sasine from

1646-9] the said lord of the said lands, 5th November, 1656. The lands of Kerrownashein were the Aberach lands in dispute, and they were not sold to the Earl of Sutherland but seized for debt by Sutherland of Skelbo, as the *Sasine Register* proves. We shall afterwards show that the superiority of these lands pertained to Mackay as late as 1682, and consequently cannot understand on what ground the Earl of Sutherland is said to have purchased them in 1642. We observe that Sir William Fraser accepts Gordon of Sallagh's account, but we do not think that he was justified in doing so without further proof, in the light of what we have shown above. The probable explanation of the controversy is, that Sutherland was claiming the lands on behalf of his vassal of Torboll, and as Lieutenant of Sutherland.

Gordon of Sallagh relates that the Aberach Mackays raided Gruids and spoiled Gray of Cl ch in August, 1646. This seems to be confirmed by a letter from Sutherland to Reay a little later, which appears in Vol. III. of *The Sutherland Book*. When the matter was reported to Parliament, it "stood fast to the Earl of Sutherland, as for one who had stuke hard to them, and hade most advanced their affairs in the north of Scotland." In this partisan spirit the Estates, 27th March, 1647, ordered 500 troops under competent officers to be set at the disposal of the Earl of Sutherland, to assist his own Highlanders in bringing Reay to book. With these levies Sutherland advanced to Ben Rosal, on the east border of Strathnaver, where he was met by Reay, and some terms of settlement made.

GORDON OF SALLAGH.

RECORDS OF PAR.

The following year Lord Reay embarked at Thurso for Denmark, and died at Copenhagen in the spring of 1649. Such was the regard entertained for his Lordship by the King of Denmark, that a frigate was commissioned to carry his body to the Kyle of Tongue, and his remains are entombed in the family vault within the church at Kirkiboll. Of him it may be truly said, here sleeps a battered warrior.

OLD SCOTS BRIGADE, 252.

During the time of Donald, 1st Lord Reay, there is some evidence that the people of Strathnaver were growing in culture, rude as it

was from our standpoint. More and more of the members of the leading families were learning to write, as their signatures to wadsets, sasines, etc., prove. Many may have learned to write while serving abroad as military officers, and some would certainly return home with a wider knowledge of the world. Religion in these parts owed much to the faithful labours of members of the Munro clan. The first Protestant minister of Farr was Robert Munro, who was translated from Durness after 1624, and was succeeded in Durness by a succession of Munros. In 1638 the Parish of Kintail (now Tongue) was erected,[1] but there was a Protestant church there at a much earlier date, served by the minister at Durness, who was practically the chaplain of the Reay family.

APPENDIX No. 39.

Lord Donald was thrice[2] married. His first wife was Barbara, whom he married in 1610, eldest daughter of Kenneth, 1st Lord Kintail, and sister of Colin and George, 1st and 2nd Earls of Seaforth. She bore him four sons and two daughter:—

i. Iye, died 1617.

ii. John, succeeded as 2nd Lord Reay, and of whom follows.

iii. Hew, died unmarried before 1642.

iv. Lieut.-Col. Angus, progenitor of the Melness Mackays, of whom see in their genealogy afterwards.

v. Jane, married Wm. Mackay III. of Bighouse, and had issue as given in the genealogy of that family.

vi. Mary, married Sir Roderick Macleod of Talisker, second son of Macleod of Macleod.

Donald married, secondly, in 1632, Elizabeth Thomson, who died about 1637, leaving one daughter:—

vii. Ann, married Alexander, brother of Sir James Macdonald of Sleat.

1. Notwithstanding the agreement which we give in Appendix No. 39, this proposed erection of the parish of Kintail, partly out of Farr and partly out of Tongue, never took place, as the bishop was deposed a few weeks thereafter at the Glasgow Assembly of the Kirk. In the time of the 3rd Lord Reay, we shall see that the parish of Durness was divided into three parishes, viz., Tongue, Durness, and Edderachilis.

2. We do not believe that he was married to Mrs. Harrison, and Robert Mackay is certainly mistaken when he says that he was married to Lady Lindsay.

Donald married, thirdly, Marjory, daughter of Francis Sinclair of Stirkoke, Caithness, by whom he had three sons and two daughters :—

viii. William, had sas. of the lands of Kinloch, 4th January, 1669, and married Ann, daughter of Col. Hugh Mackay of Scoury, by whom he had an only son, George. The said George was served heir to his deceased father, William, 24th February, 1710, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Angus IV. of Bighouse. The issue of this last marriage was an only son, Captain William Mackay, who married Jane Mackay of Borgie, and died at Thurso without issue, 1772.

ix. Charles, progenitor of the Sandwood Mackays, of whom see in their genealogy afterwards.

x. Rupert, a twin brother of Charles, who died unmarried.

xi. Margaret, died at Thurso, unmarried, 1720.

xii. Christian, married Alexr. Gunn of Killearnan, chieftain of the MacHamish Gunns, and had issue.

XV. John, 2nd Lord Reay.

1649-80.

WE already observed that John, as Master of Reay, was taken prisoner along with Huntly by the Covenanting Montrose in 1639, and confined for a brief space in Edinburgh. In 1644, when Argyle advanced against the Aberdeen Royalists, Huntly, unable to withstand the onset, fled for shelter to the Strathnaver hills.

BRITANE'S DISTEMPER p. 53.

"He causes a shipe to be made readie, and, going to sea, landes in Stranaver, my lord Rea his countray, my lord of Rea being in Newcastle; his sonne, who stayed at home, being his near cusne, receaues him joyfullie, and continued his faithful friend."

Thus, the man whose ancestors spoiled the Mackays of the superiority of Strathnaver is now a welcome fugitive in the House of Tongue, while the family of Sutherland glare at him wildly from beyond the mountain barrier separating. Truly, Fortune's wheel turns strangely! Lord Elcho, commanding at Aberdeen, writes the Earl of Sutherland in 1644:—

Nothing need "be expected from us here till the slowness of Caithness, and malignancy of Stranawer and Assynt, which are within our division, be taken course with. . . . . .

Suth. Bk., I., 238.

It is no wonder that the Master of Rea doth give no obedience to the Estates, when in spite of them he doth keep an open table to the Marquis of Huntly in his fields, and, as they do report, doth go openly to their churches, which I do admeir [wonder] the Estates should so long suffer."

Huntly, who did not return to Aberdeenshire till after the battle

1645-9] of Kilsyth, was doubtless busy in the far north strengthening the Royalist cause. According to the *Wardlaw MS.*, Huntly and the Master of Reay journeyed to and fro through the north and came as far south as Beaufort Castle, near Beauly, the seat of Lord Lovat. At his final departure, the Master of Reay escorted him to Caithness and saw him safely aboard ship, probably at Wick, whence he sailed for Aberdeen.

The Earl of Sutherland was very anxious to get possession of the Aberach lands along the Naver valley, by hook or by crook. He had the title, Lord Strathnaver, and now he wanted the flag, the Aberach lands. Donald, Lord Reay, became deeply involved in debt and had to give bonds to many of his creditors. The policy of Sutherland was to get the Grays and others in the shire to purchase these bonds, and on the strength of them to apprise certain lands which they would afterwards pass over to him. But neither the Reay family nor the Aberachs would tamely submit to this policy. It was in these circumstances that Neil Williamson, the Aberach, came to the front.

After the defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh, towards the close of 1645, some of his Irish levies escaped to Strathnaver and settled among the Aberachs, as the Parliamentary records show. Assisted by these Irish and with as many more as he could get, Neil invaded Sutherland in 1646 and spoiled the Grays at Gruids, as a sort of punishment for the part they were playing. When the Earl of Sutherland advanced to Ben Rossal, 1647, with all Sutherland at his back supported by 500 regular troops, as already recorded, and made some terms with Donald, Lord Reay, Neil defiantly stuck to the hills. All through that year and the following one, or so long as Neil's head was above the ground, he took very good care that neither Grays nor Gordons profited anything from the lands along the Naver valley, to which they laid some claim. GORDON OF SALLAGH.

Neil had a brother John, a burgess in Thurso. In February, 1649, Neil went down to Thurso to procure ammunition through his brother and with no hostile intention, accompanied by an escort of REAY PAPERS.

Highlanders and Irish; but the Irish began to plunder the townspeople, a fight ensued, and Neil was killed by misadventure rushing from church, for it was a Sabbath day, to quell the disturbance. In this fight, of Neil's party seven were killed besides himself, and ten were made prisoners, while sundry of the townspeople were killed and wounded. This mishap naturally developed into a feud which lasted for over twenty years.

HOUSE OF MACKAY.

On the 16th March, the Earl of Caithness petitioned the Estates, and the petition was granted, to embody troops to withstand the Strathnaver men and some Irish of Montrose's, who were harrying Caithness. The petition states that these invaders raided Caithness lately, when two of their leaders and six of their men were killed, and ten made prisoners, but that sundry Caithnessmen were killed and wounded. Since then the "hail Strathnaver men with the Irish and their other associates are risen in arms against Caithness."

RECORDS OF PARL.

In the resulting blood-feud, John Neilson Aberach made no less than seven recorded raids into Caithness to avenge his father's fall, carrying away much spoil each time. In October, 1653, he raided the lands of Assary; in April, 1654, the lands of Spittal and Halkirk; in October, 1654, the lands of Berriedale and Strathmore; in October, 1655, the lands of Spittal; on the 20th March and again on the 2nd August, 1656, the lands of Spittal; and on the 15th September, 1656, the lands of Forss and Catchary. The author of the *House and Clan of Mackay* complains at page 334 that the death of Neil was not sufficiently avenged. In the light of what we have stated we believe the general reader will conclude that the vengeance was ample enough to satisfy the modern mind.

JUSTICIARY RECORD, 10 DEC. 1668.

But to return; on the 30th January, 1649, Charles I. lost his head, and very soon afterwards off went the heads of Huntly and the Duke of Hamilton. This, however, did not daunt the Royalists. On the 22nd February the Master of Reay and the Mackenzies, to the number of 700, attacked and captured Inverness, but hearing of reinforcements advancing from the south they soon thereafter retired

WARDLAW MS.

1649] to the hills for safety, to return again on the 3rd May.

"There happened an insurrection in the north of Scotland May 3, being Cross day, for Lieutenant General Midleton, haveing made his escape out of Barwick into these partes, the Lord Ray and the Mackenzies mustered and made a body of 1500; and coming over, some at Cessock, some at Beauly, crossed the bridge at Ness uppon the Lord's day in time of Divin service and allarmed the people of Inverness, impeding God's worship in that town; for, instead of bells to ring in to service, I saw and heard no other than the noise of pipes, drums, pots, pans, kettles, and spits in the street, to provid them victuals in every house and in their quarters. The rude rascality would eat no meat at their tables untill the landlord laid down a shilling Scots uppon his trencher that sat, terming this *argil caggin*, chewing money." WARDLAW MS.

After making the good people of Inverness table down compensation for the wear and tear of their teeth on the tough meat provided, they set out for Balveny Castle on the Spey where they quartered, awaiting the arrival of Middleton at the head of a strong force of Gordons. Mackenzie of Pluscardin and some of the other leading officers went off to meet Middleton, and meantime no danger appeared imminent. But Colonels Kerr, Hacket, and Strachan by a forced cavalry march surprised them in the night time, and, after fierce fighting in which over 400 of the Highlanders were killed, captured the survivors Lord Reay among them. This happened early in May. Hugh Mackay of Scoury was allowed to lead the disarmed Mackays back to Strathnaver, but Reay and a few of the other leaders were brought to Edinburgh and cast into prison.

Bearing in mind the temper of the authorities at the time and the past Royalist activity of Reay, it is a wonder that he did not lose his head. That he had succeeded to the title but two or three months earlier may have made them so far clement towards him. If he saved his head that was about the most of it, for with the terror of the axe impending he was forced to sign blank bonds to the Grays of Sutherland, in name of damages for spoliation committed on them by his troops while marching south, that practically denuded him of the most of his estate. This appears from an acti[illegible] raised in the Court

of Session, 1679, to reduce the charters of apprising secured by the Grays over parts of the Reay property. The plea then put forward on his Lordship's behalf was that the bonds on which the Grays executed were extorted from him by force and fear, a plea which satisfied the court.

REAY PAPERS.

"The said pretended bands were extorted *per vim per metum*, in so far as it is offered to be proven that the said Master[1] of Rea was taken prisoner by , Lieutenant to Sir Mungo Murray, and detained in restraint and in private carcere until the said bands were extorted, which were most unjust, because though the Master of Rae and his shouldiers had done any prejudice by taking away the goods of the said Grays of Arbol and Auchluy, yet he acted therein as a shouldier and was cloathed with a commission from the Marquis of Huntly and Montrose."

It is further stated in the documents that the decreet of apprising obtained by the Grays was "allowed by the commissioners for administration of justice for the people of Scotland in 1650."

About this period there are various entries in the Records of Parliament bearing upon Reay. A supplication was presented to Parliament, 3rd February, 1649, by the Earl of Sutherland and his vassals, asking assistance to repress the incursions of armed bands of Mackays, and to this end they were granted 400 merks monthly out of the shire of Sutherland. On 16th March, the Earl of Sutherland complained that 5000 merks of rent due out of Strathnaver were seized by the Master of Reay, that the country of Sutherland is in constant dread of being invaded, and that 400 men are constantly watching the marches. On the 23rd May, the Estates granted a warrant to the Magistrates of Edinburgh to detain as prisoners Lord Reay, Duncane Meky, Robert Meky, Donald Meky, John Meky, Rorie Macleod, etc. These were no doubt some of the leaders captured at Balveny.

On the 14th June, the Estates empowered the Earl of Sutherland to build and occupy with 100 soldiers a sconce in Strathnaver, and

1. He is styled Master of Reay in the documents because the act of spoliation in question was committed by him before his father's death, probably towards the close of 1648.

1649 50] from an entry a few days later it appears that the monthly expense of the garrison amounted to £1111 13s 6d,

"to be paid as follows:—furth of the maintenance of the shire of Caithness £724 17s 11d, the maintenance of Sutherland, £139 4s 9d, the burgh of Dornoch, £27 . . . . . and £72 2s 4d remains to be paid by the Earl of Sutherland"

The ruins of the sconce, which was horse-shoe shaped with the opening towards the river, may yet be seen about 100 yards below the burn of Langdale, Strathnaver, and close to the high-way. On 28th June, the Estates ordain that Lord Reay is to remain in prison till the public debts incurred by him and the charges against him are paid out of his property. On 4th August, the Earl of Sutherland and his vassals report their losses at the hands of Reay, those of the earl amounting to £20,935 6s 8d, and those of Sir Robert Gordon to £10,834 10s 4d—very liberal estimates, we should think! They plead these losses should be recouped out of Reay's estate. This was granted by Parliament, and Reay condemned to lie in prison until full satisfaction is given. From this it may be gathered that Reay was fairly on his back. The wonder is that he ever recovered, but he did. Lord Reay's sad plight at this juncture gave rise to the Gaelic proverb, current throughout the Royalist north:—

"Ma tha mise truagh, is e mo thruaighe MacAoidh."
If I am miserable, more so is Mackay.

In the spring of 1650, the adventurous Montrose once more tempted fortune for the house of Stuart. It was his last cast. Landing in Orkney, he crossed over with a body of Orcadians and Dutchmen to Thurso, where he was visited by Mackay of Scoury and other Strathnaver leaders. Gordon of Sallagh relates that the Mackays urged Montrose to march southwards by way of Strathnaver and Braechat, keeping to the hills, and that when he chose the more risky coast-side they returned home. It is no wonder though the Mackays refused to join in such a mad enterprise; Balveny was fresh

in their memories, a hostile garrison was quartered in Strathnaver, and their chief lay a prisoner at Edinburgh. Very soon afterwards Montrose was defeated near Bonar, captured in Assynt by Macleod, and dispatched to Edinburgh for execution.

RECORDS OF PARL.

Charles II. landed at the mouth of the Spey in June, and on the 15th July a garrison was planted at Tongue under Macleod of Assynt to keep the Mackays from rising, that in Strathnaver being under Captain William Gordon. Macleod's appointment to this post may have been part of his reward for the capture of Montrose. The wheel now took another turn. The Scots who fought under General Leslie against Charles I. rally round his son, Charles II., and are commanded by the same Leslie. At Dunbar, Cromwell defeated Leslie, 3rd September, and advanced on Edinburgh, which he took with ease. Before the close of the year, Reay made his escape from Edinburgh prison in a romantic fashion. If tradition holds true, he owed his deliverance to his brilliant[1] wife and to a gigantic hook-nosed Aberach servant-man. So effectively did the lady plead with Cromwell for her husband's freedom, that he agreed not to interfere if she could only manage to get his Lordship outside the prison walls. We give the tradition as it is recorded in the *House of Mackay*.

"A great difficulty still remained, how to get his Lordship beyond the prison walls. His lady and his servant, John Mackay, one of the clan Abrach, always had free access to him. There were two grenadier sentinels before the front entry to the prison. John said, if Lady Reay could get his Lordship brought that length he would, at the hazard of his life, prevent the centinels from obstructing him. The lady got her part effected; and as Lord Reay was ready to advance towards the centinels, John suddenly laid hold of them both, and with the greatest ease laid prostrate the one above the other, and then disarmed them. As his master was now under cover of the protection, John surrendered himself and was immediately put in prison and laid in irons. He was afterwards brought to his trial, at which Cromwell himself was present. He said, that the servant had no doubt forfeited his life; but his conduct, which went to obtain his master's liberty, and perhaps to save his life, was

1. Fraser in the *Wardlaw MS.* eulogises her thus:—"Indeed she was the mirror of our north bred ladyes, the prettiest, wittiest woman that I ever knew here; a great historian, a smart poet, and for virtue and housekeeping, few or none her paralell." A specimen of her poetry may be consulted in the *Wardlaw MS.*, p. 509

1650-2] heroical. . . . . His opinion, therefore, was that for the ... of justice the panel should be condemned to die but that in ... circumstances of the case the crime should be remitted, which was agreed to unanimously. After the sentence was intimated to the prisoner, Cromwell having taken a full view of his large hooked nose, impending eye-brows, fierce manly aspect, and proportional figure, exclaimed, "May I be kept from the devil's and from that man's grasp."

On the 3rd December, 1650, Charles II. and the Estates met at Perth, when the disturbed state of the country was considered and officers appointed to raise troops for the country's defence. To Hew Mackay of Scoury was entrusted the charge of raising men in Strathnaver, and a few days afterwards the Estates passed an ordinance that the garrison kept in Strathnaver by the Earl of Sutherland shall no longer be chargeable to the public purse. In April, 1651, a levy of Mackays and other northern clans marched through Inverness on their way to the king's rendezvous at Stirling. The Mackays were under the command of Captain William Mackay of Borley, nephew of Hew Mackay of Scoury. On the 31st July, the Scottish army began its march southwards under the king, and on the 3rd September was completely defeated by Cromwell at Worcester. Many of the unfortunate prisoners taken that day were sold as slaves to the planters in Barbadoes, but Mackay of Borley managed to elude capture and made his way back to Strathnaver.

Records of Parl.

Wardlaw MS

Bor. MS

After Worcester, King Charles passed over to the Continent, and by February, 1652, the whole of Scotland was garrisoned by Cromwell's soldiers, while a fleet of ships scoured the Scottish seas co-operating with the army of occupation. On 15th February, instructions were sent to Colonel Cooper to place half a company in Thurso and a company and a half in Castle Sinclair, near Wick. Others in larger or smaller bands were stationed all over the country. Thus Scotland came to be completely under the English Parliament, a state of matters equally obnoxious to Royalists and Covenanters. Seven Commissioners were appointed to administer justice in Scotland, for the Privy Council and Court of Session ceased to

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discharge their functions, and these Commissioners were empowered to confiscate the estates of such as bore arms for King Charles II. Naturally such as were deeply involved in the affairs of the house of Stuart felt ill at ease, and during 1653 secret communications passed and repassed between them regarding a projected rising, which soon took place.

On the 9th September, Colonel Bramfield, a deputy of Charles II., advised the king to send letters "from your Majesties hand" to certain Royalists, among them Lord Reay, and also to appoint his Lordship one of a committee of sixteen "for the government of affairs in the kingdom of Scotland." It was probably in reply to this royal missive that Reay wrote the letter which we give in Appendix No. 41. In consequence of the hostile attitude of the Dutch States towards England, the Royalists were very sanguine of assistance from the Continent, but the unexpected peace dashed these hopes though it did not prevent their rising.

Towards the close of February, 1654, General Middleton, as Commander-in-Chief of the Royalists, landed at the Ferry of Unes, north of Dornoch, with 300 barrels of powder and 5000 stands of arms, which he deposited under a garrison in Skelbo Castle. He proceeded up Strathoikel as far as Assynt, raising the country side, and from thence marched into Strathnaver where Reay joined him with 200 men. Reay and Middleton set out for Caithness, beating up recruits as they go, and having planted a detachment in Thurso, they both returned to Skelbo. At the latter place they were joined by Sir George Munro of Culrain, Glencairn, and others, about the second week of April, when Sir George, an officer of Continental experience, was appointed Major-General. But this appointment gave rise to dissension, and resulted in a duel between Sir George and Glencairn fought at Evelix, near Dornoch. Of course, this blasted the success of the rising which from the beginning was a hopeless one.

While in Sutherland, Reay took the opportunity of settling scores

1654] with his old foes there, who four years befo[illegible]d turned the screw so sorely on him at Edinburgh. With 500 Strathnaver men at his back he practically devastated the south of Sutherland, burning what he could not take away.

Colonel Lilburne writes to Cromwell: "I heare the Lord Rea is very active against us (a most unworthy man), and that the Earl of Sutherland is driven out of his country [illegible] his [illegible] and Middleton hath turned his Lady out of doores, and sent her [illegible] and his land and estate is exceedingly wasted. . . . . .

I thinke if itt bee true that the Lord Rea i[illegible] active [illegible] of his lands were given to repaire the Lord Sutherland itt were out just [illegible]

The latter suggestion came from the earl himself doubtless. At any rate it was the steady policy of his house for some time previously. While Reay is not at all to be excused for devastating so sweepingly, according to the ethics of the time he may have felt himself justified in making sure that the excessive bill of damages brought against him at Edinburgh lately should be properly balanced!

By the middle of May, Reay and Middleton returned to Caithness and took up their quarters in Wick. Captain Peter Mews, writing from Thurso, 4th June, 1654, says:—

"The Lord Rea having raised his men we marched into Cathnes as high as Wyke, neere which the rebels had a garrison of 100 men. We found the place strong and not to be taken without greater guns than those we brought over, and to cut off relief, save only by land, impossible wanting ships. . . . . The Lord Rea continued there with his men, without attempting anythinge on the Castle or they on us, save only a few alarums."

The place which they found so strong was doubtless Castle Sinclair, two miles north of Wick, perched upon a high sea-rock, the seat of the Earl of Caithness who was himself a Royalist.

By the middle of June, they return again to Sutherland where Reay seems to have remained, but Middleton went to Glenelg and thence to Badenoch, where he was defeated by Colonel Morgan, about the middle of July. After Middleton's defeat at Dalnaspidal the

APPENDIX No. 42.

rising was practically extinguished, although Reay kept the field till May, 1656. One after another, Glencairn, Lorne, Lochiel, Seaforth, Munro, &c., capitulated on very generous terms offered by the English Government, who were anxious to win over the Highlanders in favour of their scheme of union between England and Scotland.[1]

Now that order was restored, it was the turn of the Sutherland men to settle scores with Reay, and they did it on the bonds extorted at Edinburgh—there was no compensation for the late spoliation, so far as we are aware, because of the Government's anxiety to give no cause for friction. Towards the close of 1655, Gray of Creich, Gray of Auchly, and Gordon of Gordonston got charters of apprisement over a considerable portion of Reay's property, and they congratulated themselves on having at last extinguished him, but they were mistaken. Five years thereafter, the Restoration of Charles II. changed the face of affairs; Reay was then the top dog and they were below. So impoverished did the Earl of Sutherland become, that he had to sell his plate before he died in 1679, as Sir Wm. Fraser tells us. Reay too was poor, but he was on the ruling side till his death, which meant a good deal in these days.

Since the fall of Neil Williamson, the Aberach, at Thurso, 1649, the Strathnaver men again and again made spoiling raids into Caithness by way of revenge. At last the people of Caithness, feeling that they were getting too much of this, complained to the Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh, and on the 6th February, 1667, Letters of Fire and Sword, against certain specified persons, to be executed betwixt that date and the 1st July following, were granted to William Sinclair of Dunbeath and others. In executing this commission Sinclair and his friends committed two mistakes which cost them dearly. They did not make their counter raid into Strathnaver till March, 1668, or eight months after the expiry of their commission; and what was more serious, they executed the commission against the

1. For our account of the rising under Middleton we are much indebted to *Scotland and the Protectorate* (Scot. Hist. Soc.)

1668-9] wrong persons. The Neilson Aberachs they could not catch; but they fell with fury upon the Munros of Eriboll who had no part in the quarrel, they murdered one of the Scoury Mackays in cold blood while travelling in Aberdeenshire, and another of the Scoury Mackays, who had the misfortune to be driven ashore by stress of weather on the Caithness coast, they so ill-treated that he died a few days thereafter. Besides this they injured tenants of Reay, the Earl of Sutherland, &c., whose names were not on the proscribed list, and burnt their houses. It was now the turn of Reay and others to complain, with the result that Letters of Fire and Sword were issued to them against the Sinclairs, 10th December, 1668. By some arrangement the punishment of the Caithnessmen was soon afterwards converted into a fine of 50,204 merks, as the following extract from a document among the *Reay Papers* shows:— JUSTICIARY RECORD.

"Donald, Master of Reay, obtained decreet on 25th July last against William Sinclair of Dunbeath, Mr James Innes of Sandside, William Dunbar of Hempriggs, Francis Sinclair, Nottingham, James Sinclair of Lybster, John Sinclair younger of Olbster, Alexander Sinclair of Telstane, Francis Sinclair of Stirkake, David Sinclair of Southdun, Donald Badge of Easterdale, James Innes of Thuster, William Sinclair of Thura, John Sinclair in Brebsterdorren, George Sinclair of Barrack, John Sinclair of Brebstermyr, Sir William Sinclair of May, George Sinclair of Olrig, John Bruce of Ham, Adam Cunningham in Carskow, James Cunningham in Geis, William Innes of Isauld, and Alexander Sinclair of Stempster, for the causes therein mentioned, for the sum of 50,204 merks Scots, and which sum the Master of Reay assigns to Sir George Munro of Culrain &c." [1]

The Master of Reay assigned the above decreet for execution to his father-in-law, Sir George Munro, Commander of the forces in North Britain a man of much power.

During the autumn of 1669, Lord Lovat paid a lengthy visit to Lord Reay at Durness, which is thus described in the *Wardlaw MS.*:—

"They live now at Dureness, whither my Lord came, longd for, and

1. The date is not decipherable, but the paper is tied up with documents of the 70's of that century.

got a most freed welcom, especially to my good lady, who for her true affection to our name might well be named Barbara Fraser. The Lord Ray contrived all maner of sport and recreation to divert his dear Lovat, as he tearmd him; sometimes out at sea in berges afishing, sometimes haukeing and hunting, sometimes arching at buts and bowmarks, jumping, wrestling, dancing. . . . . All the gentlemen of the name of Macky conveened, and so to the deer hunting, for my Lord Ray hath the finest and richest forest in the kingdom for deer and reas, their number and nimbleness. . . . .

My Lord Lovat, haveing stayed a whole month and more in Strathnaver, and, we may say, wearied with excess of pleasure, thinks of returning home the beginning of September, loadned with curtesies and obligations. My Lord Ray gifted him a curious, curled, black, shelty horse, several excellent firelocks, bowes, and a sword that perhaps for goodness and antiquity might be called the non-such, and two deer greyhounds. My Lady gifted him a plaid all of silk, party colloured, her own work. . . . . My Lord Ray in the end, after a most kindly but melancholious farewell, conveyed Lovat out of his bounds with twenty gentlemen in train, and set him on Sutherland ground."

This pleasing picture of the state which his Lordship maintained at Durness is amply borne out by various facts recorded in the *Reay Papers*. For the amusement of his household he kept a *pipier*, a *clarsor* (harper), and an *amadan*[1] (fool); and for the education of his family he maintained a tutor, the Rev. Donald Macintosh, afterwards minister of Farr, and thereafter of Strathspey.

In consequence of the political complications and outlook in 1672, Reay and Seaforth in that year renewed the bond of friendship which had been contracted between their houses in 1639. The Macdonald, Munro, Fraser, &c. witnesses to the transaction may be significant of the political friendship existing at that time between these various

APPENDIX No. 44

1. Tradition records that Reay's fool was a 'cute fellow, and that his Lordship was very proud of him. The Macintosh of Moy Hall was visiting at Durness when the conversation turned upon a notorious freebooter, who invested the Muilbai of the Black Isle and defied capture, notwithstanding his continual depredations. Reay ventured to bet that his fool would outwit the robber. The fool was accordingly dispatched to Moy Hall for a small sum of money, with strict orders to pass and repass through the Black Isle. On his way out the fool and the robber met, and the former with apparent guilelessness told the purport of his errand to the latter. On the return journey the fool and the robber met again by appointment, when the former, taking the latter of his guard, stabbed him and then cut off his right hand, which he wrapped in his plaid and carried to Durness. When brought into the presence of Reay and Macintosh, he was asked if he saw the famous Black Isle robber. "Yes," he replied, throwing the severed hand on the floor, "and he gave me his hand he would never rob another."

Highland families. The bond should be consulted in our Appendix No. 44.

During the closing years of Lord Reay's life a great many Strathnaver men entered the military service of the Dutch States, some of whom rose to eminent rank in that country, making it their permanent home. Among these may be mentioned General Hugh Mackay of Scoury, of whom more anon, and General Aeneas, second son of Lord Reay, and progenitor of the Dutch Mackays.

Lord Reay, who died in 1680, was twice married. By his first wife, Isabella Sinclair, a Caithness lady, whom he married in 1636, he had two children :—

i. Robert, who died early in life without issue.

ii. Jane, married (contract 14 November, 1665) Robert Gordon, third son of John, Earl of Sutherland. Robert Gordon died[1] at Langdale, Strathnaver, 1671, without issue; and his widow afterwards married, secondly, Hugh Mackay IV. of Strathy, by whom she had issue as given in our account of that family.

Lord Reay married, secondly, Barbara, daughter of Colonel Hugh Mackay II. of Scoury, by whom he had three sons and three daughters :—

iii. Donald, Master of Reay, who predeceased his father, and of whom a short account follows

1. This is how Fraser in the *Wardlaw MS.* accounts for Gordon's death :—"A Dutch marchantman of 250 tun, loadned with wines, brandy, spices, iron, salt, &c., a very rich cargo, was cast in upon the coast of Strathnaver, where Admiralty is not much regarded. All the people flockt about the shore. The people, not knowing then the strength of brandy or such foreign liquor drank to excess of it, and I heard it say that this very ship's loadning debaucht Cathnes and Strathnaver to that degree that very many lost their lives by their immoderation. Mr Robert Gordon, the Earl of Sutherland's son, being but newly married to Mr K. Mackay, Lord Rays daughter, a high blooded signin, fell accidentally with some companeonds, and tooke a great latitude, drinking liberally even to excess. At length he got free of them, escaping with his life to take some rest. Shortly after, these cupvullid villans came in to the gentlemans chamber, being in bed with his bride, obligdes him to rise and drink so many healths in his shirt standing. The poor, modest, bashful lady had not the confidence (lest critickly construed) to challange them, or call her husband to his bed. With reluctancy they parted. Robin went away, laid him down, but never rose."

Though we quote from the *Wardlaw MS.* here and elsewhere on matters which might well lie within the compiler's own knowledge, the fact should not be overlooked that the Rev. Mr Fraser knew very little of the history of Caithness, Strathnaver, and Sutherland before his own time. When he deals with that subject he simply quotes from Sir Robert Gordon, whose MS. history he must have consulted, for he repeats his mistakes and misrepresentations almost word for word. For over two centuries and a half after his own time, Sir Robert Gordon like a Colossus bestrode the history of our far north, and almost every writer dealing with that subject took their facts from him, often without any acknowledgement. This is notoriously true in the case of the *Wardlaw MS.*

iv. Brigadier-General Aeneas, progenitor of the Dutch Mackays, of whose descendants we give an account afterwards.

v. Colonel Robert, of the Scots Brigade in Holland. He was so severely wounded at the battle of Killiecrankie that he never completely recovered, but he was able to serve afterwards both in Ireland and in Holland. Eventually he returned to his native land and died at Tongue, 1696. It was on the occasion of Colonel Robert's death that John Mackay, the blind piper of Gairloch, composed the well know Gaelic elegy "Coir an Esain." Of this piece the editor of *The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry* says, "that beautiful pastoral . . . which of itself might well immortalize his fame. It is not surpassed by anything of the kind in the Keltic language." One verse of this striking poem, in which the bard addresses the corrie so famed for its deer and so beloved of Robert, we venture to quote.

"O'n tha thus a' caoidh nan armunn
Leis am b' abhaist bhi ga d' thaghall,
Gu'n seinn mi ealaidh gu'n duais dut,
Ge fada bhuam 's mi gu'n fhradhare."

Corrie, wailing the chieftains
That were wont thy sides to climb,
I will soothe thee with an ode,
Though distant far, and blind.

The blind piper makes it very evident that Robert, whose death he so pathetically laments, was an ardent lover of the chase.

vi. Joanna, married (contract 21st April, 1684) William Fraser of Struy, grand-nephew of Alexander, 5th Lord Lovat.

vii. Anna, married (contract 30th April, 1687) Hugh Mackay of Borley, as his first wife, but no issue by her.

viii. Sibylla, married (contract 3rd December, 1687) Lauchlan Macintosh of Aberarde. She married, secondly, Alexander Rose, a bailie of Inverness, contract 25th October, 1689.

XVI. Donald, Master of Reay.

JOHN, 2nd Lord Reay, at what date we cannot say, denuded himself of his landed estate in favour of his elder son, Donald, the Master. This was a common practise among families in the far north at that period and for some time previously. The object was twofold: to guard against the inconvenience of feudal wardships on the succession of minors, and to prevent the forfeiture of estates in times of political convulsion, when the head of a family might be bearing arms against the constituted government. The inheritance to which the Master of Reay succeeded was considerably embarrassed, as we saw. To the debts of Donald, 1st Lord Reay, incurred in the service of Gustavus Adolphus and in the service of Charles I. at Newcastle, have to be added those of John, 2nd Lord Reay, incurred by his support of Charles II.; and the losses of the latter were the more serious of the two, because bondholders took charters of apprising over his estate. In consequence, however, of the foresight of the first Lord Reay in making certain arrangements, his debts proved a blessing in disguise to his grandson.

On the 4th September, 1637, the first Lord Reay consolidated his debts, when Robert Munro of Achness, in Strathoikel, a great friend of his Lordship, purchased all the floating bonds, and subsequently by arrangement took a bond of apprising over the whole estate. On 8th March, 1644, this first bond was secured on behalf of the Reay family by William Mackay of Borely, grandson of Donald Balloch of Scoury. In the autumn of 1677, Donald, Master of Reay, married

Ann, daughter of Sir George Munro of Culrain, Commander-in-Chief of the forces in North Britain, and shortly thereafter the first bond in question was assigned to Sir George, who immediately raised an action of reduction in the Court of Session against the Grays and Gordons, holders on charters of apprising of a large portion of the Reay property. Sir George raised his action, 29th June, 1679, and after prolonged litigation was successful by the end of the summer of 1681.

The principal plea of the prosecution was, that the Grays and others, in 1649, unjustly extorted from John, then Master of Reay, ruinous bonds on pretended spoliation, while he was in prison and lying at their mercy, and that afterwards on the strength of these bonds they got themselves infeft in his lands. The verdict of the Court was, that as Reay committed the acts of spoliation complained of in the capacity of a soldier with the king's commission, and that as a few years thereafter his own lands were spoiled and his house at Tongue burnt while serving his Majesty, the extorted bonds and consequent charters of apprising were null and void. Further, that as Sir George was assignee of the bond of 1637 the first claim over the estate pertained to him, and that as the heritor raised no objection it was within his right to secure the estate by a charter of apprising. This Sir George did, and then handed the charter[1] over to his grandson, George, 3rd Lord Reay, that is to the son of Ann Munro by Donald, Master of Reay, for both the Master and his father, Lord John, had died meantime.

1. For the above facts we are indebted to documents in the Reay charter chest. It may be of interest to point out that by the lawsuit, concluded in 1681, the lands comprised in the Reay estate were as follows: "All and heall the tounes and lands of Ribigill miln and milnlands thereof, Kenlochmore, Kenlochbeg, Mussall, Delkeppach, Islandryre, Arnubill and salmon fishing upon the water of Drydarie, Hundin miln and milnlands thereof, Eriboll, Strathbeg, Islandchorie, Hope, the lands of the forrest of Dirimore and salmond fishing thereof upon the waters of Garowtone, Ardbeg, Ardmore, Kenlochbervie, Aldeorbeg, Aldeormore, Carnamanach, Sandwatt, Kerrowag, Havish, Keoldeall and salmond fishing upon the water of Durines and crooves thereof, Crangillick, Boalie, Slaines, Balnakill, Farrett, Galwall, Crossitall, Balmulich, Sangnes, Islandhean, Rispin, Froskill, Strathmellines, Melineish miln and milnlands thereof, Islandgyle, Scorlonie, Strathtoung, Caldaback, Toung miln and milnlands thereof, Kirkiboll, Scrabuster, Kinnisad, Releadan, Oldlongart, Torrantarrow, Lettermore, Mowkaill, Gnubmore, Gnubeg, Rossall, Shyre, Langwall miln and milnlands thereof, Skeall miln and milnlands thereof, Raigill, Carnachie miln and milnlands thereof, Invernaver, Skelpick, Rangivie miln and milnlands thereof, Fair miln and milnlands thereof, Kirtamie, Borgiebeg, Borgiemore, Torrisdaill, Skerray, Islandrone, Islandcolme, with all and sundrie the houses &c." See *Reay Papers*.

1680-1] The reader is not to conclude that the judges in Edinburgh passed a wet sponge over the debts of the Reay family; they did nothing of the kind. All the legal debts of the family remained untouched and were honourably met every penny with interest by the 3rd Lord Reay, who is justly known in Strathnaver tradition as Am Morair Mor, the great lord. The judges simply sponged out the blank bonds extorted from the 2nd Lord Reay when a prisoner, and tore up the charters of apprising which enemies obtained by execution on the said cruel bonds. That the legal courts of the time were corrupt goes without saying, but we fail to see anything unjust in the judgment of 1681—the injustice lay rather with those who brought such pressure to bear on Reay in 1649, when his head lay practically on the block.

In 1678 the Master finished the rebuilding of the House of Tongue, burnt in 1656 by the forces of the Commonwealth when the Mackays were in arms under Middleton for the king, and to the rebuilt house he brought his bride. By mutual arrangement, the Master took up his residence at Tongue while his father and mother continued to live in Balnakeil House, Durness, of which Lady Reay had a life-rent charter in virtue of her marriage contract. By the said contract, Barbara, Lady Reay, was seased for life in "the town and half davach land of Farret, the one and a half davach lands of Durness, the town and lands of Iddin and Bellmullich, the three davach lands of lie Manse of Duirnes called Bellachastell, Galdwell, and Iddinnahua etc." REAY PAPERS.

In the autumn of 1680, the Master was killed hunting in the Reay forest by the accidental explosion of a barrel of gunpowder, and his father passed away not long thereafter. The grief at the Master's fall throughout Strathnaver, so graphically described in the *House and Clan of Mackay*, was accentuated by the critical lawsuit then pending; but in the providence of God his only son and child lived to succeed and to rule with growing prosperity in the House of Tongue. That, however, is another story.

The Master married (contract 22 August, 1677) Ann, daughter of Sir George Munro of Culrain, and had issue by her one son, George, afterwards 3rd Lord Reay, of whom follows. Ann, Mistress of Reay, married, secondly, Lauchlan Macintosh of Macintosh.

BLK. MS.

XVII. George, 3rd Lord Reay.

1680-1786.

GEORGE, 3rd Lord Reay, who was born towards the close of 1678, succeeded in the title his grandfather, the second Lord Reay, towards the close of 1680, and during the following fourteen years was under the solicitous guardianship of his maternal grandfather, Sir George Munro of Culrain. With sleepless watchfulness and untiring care the peppery old Cavalier husbanded the resources of the estate, and with the assistance of the versatile Dame Barbara, Lady Reay, provided the very best education for the clever boy. During these years many of the debts lying on the estate were cleared away, and though a heavy burden still remained as soon as his Lordship ca of age he shouldered it like a man, disentangling his property with a financial capacity which cannot be too highly praised. To clear his feet Reay had to part with the lands along the Naver river from Moudale downwards, but if he did he secured the estate of Scoury, and before he died saw one of his sons proprietor of Bighouse and another proprietor of Skibo. But we must hark back to our narrative.

The period 1680-88 was one of growing religious persecution in Scotland. The Stuarts were steering madly for political perdition. Miserable as were the closing years of the reign of Charles II, when he died in 1685 he was succeeded by his brother James VII, who not only roused the Covenanters to desperation but alienated from

himself many of the old Cavalier families, until in 1688 the nation rose up and swept the Stuarts off the boards. During these wretched years the secluded mountains of Strathnaver afforded a gracious asylum to many a hunted Covenanter, and around the shores of Lochnaver the warmest welcome was extended by the Aberachs to the persecuted ones. The sympathies of John Mackay, 7th Aberach chieftain, who had married a daughter of the saintly poet, the Revd. Alexander Munro, minister of Durness, lay with the men and women who stood up "for Christ's Crown and Covenant." A generation earlier Strathnaver sheltered the broken Irish followers of Montrose, now it took into its arms fugitives of quite a different kind.

Records of Parl. XI., 217.

One of the sorely tried was Christina Ross, widow of Alexander Fearn of Pitcallion in Ross, who was forced to flee in the night time "with one of her sons of fourteen years of age running at her foot, in the winter time, to Strathnaver hills," where she lived for three months, until the Countess of Sutherland "sent privately for her in the night time, and kept her for two months close in a chamber, and took home one of her daughters out of charity." The only charge against her was that she attended conventicles and showed hospitality to outed ministers. It may be of interest to point out that a daughter of this widowed lady married Alexander Mackay, nephew of John, the Aberach chieftain, and that a son of this marriage was Robert of Halmadary, whose religious fervour developed into fanaticism of the most extravagant character. Of that we shall speak afterwards.

While King James was goring his people, many fled for refuge over the sea to the Protestant court of William, Prince of Orange, who had married a daughter of the British monarch. Determined upon the expulsion of James, the heart of the nation went out towards Prince William, and overtures were made to him to come over and to pick up the crown. In the service of the Dutch States there was a Scots Brigade consisting of three regiments, and one of Prince William's most trusted officers was General Hugh Mackay of

1669-82] Scoury, brother of Barbarn, Lady Reay, and a man of such an adventurous career as to merit an introductory notice by the way.

MAJOR BARNARDS *Lieb.*

General Hugh Mackay III. of Scoury in early life joined Dumbarton's regiment in the service of France, and during the war between the Venetian States and the Turks served as a volunteer with the former, obtaining a medal in 1669 for important services performed at the siege of Candia. After this he served with the French in their war with the Dutch States, but coming under the influence of a pious, Protestant, Dutch lady, whose daughter eventually became his wife, he quitted the service of France and joined the Dutch. His valour at the siege of Grave brought him to the notice of the Prince of Orange, who promoted him to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel on the 19th March, 1675, and to that of Colonel of the Scots regiment on the 28th April, 1676. When Mackay assumed command, the Scots regiment was in a very disorganised state. The following extract from *Strictures on Military Discipline* indicates the cause and the cure.

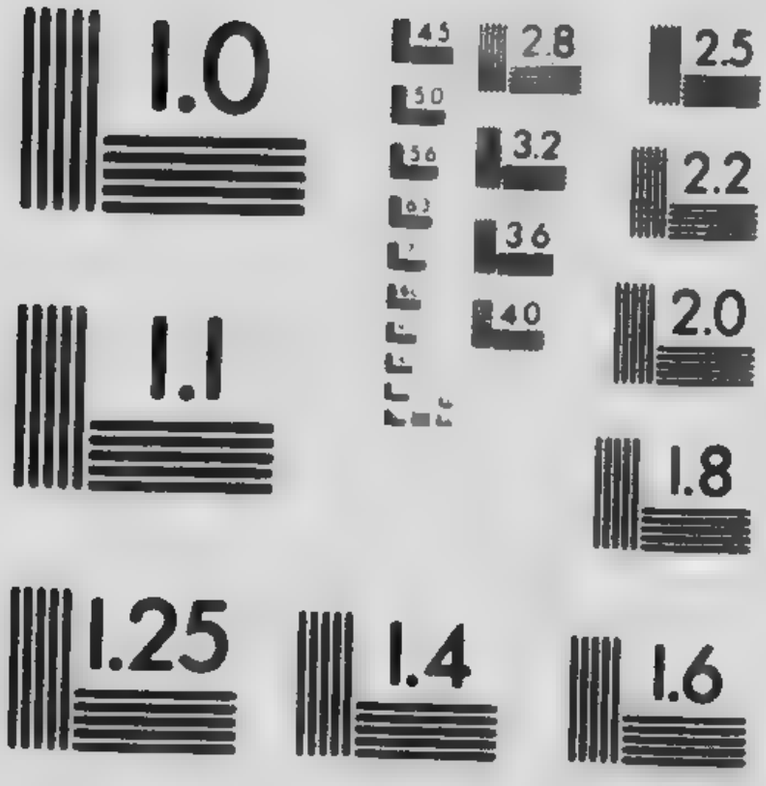
"In some skirmishes that happened in the army even in the years 1675 and 1676 the Scots did not behave with their usual spirit and conduct, and the Prince was much piqued and displeased, insomuch that he one day asked the brave General Mackay, lately come to his service from France, if he was not surprised and ashamed at the behaviour of his countrymen. . . . . so different from what the Scotch brigade had done in the army of Gustavus Adolphus when commanded by his friend Lord Rae.

Mackay as much piqued as the Prince. . . . . begged leave to tell his Highness that altho' they had that name they did not deserve it, for that near one half of the officers and more of the men were not Scots, but were Dutch, French, Germans, and of all nations, even some officers in high rank as well as captains and subalterns. . . .

But, says Mackay, if I may speak my mind freely to your Highness, and give my opinion, allow me to say that the only way to recover these regiments and bring them to their former state is by dispersing all these Dutch and foreign officers, under-officers, and soldiers into the national and newly levied or other regiments, replace the officers with Scotch gentlemen of family and merit, raise Scotch recruits, and henceforth let officers, under-officers, and men be only Scots, and I shall answer for their being very soon as good as ever, and will behave as bravely. . . . as ever my countrymen did in the army of Gustavus Adolphus."

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



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Mackay did not prove a false prophet. His advice was taken, officers and soldiers were recruited in Scotland, and soon the Scots Brigade became the flower of the army in Holland. In the new levy which came over to fill up the ranks were Mackay's two brothers, James and Roderick, and his nephew, the Hon. Aeneas Mackay, who brought with them a goodly contingent[1] from Strathnaver. These troops were destined betimes to take a prominent part under General Mackay in the struggle to place Prince William on the throne of Britain.

As matters were ripening to a climax, the Prince of Orange dispatched chosen emissaries to Scotland with a view to strengthen his cause, among them Captain Aeneas Mackay who seems to have returned home early in 1687, for on the 12th April he witnessed at Durness the pre-nuptial contract of his sister, Anna. On the 15th May, 1688, Captain Aeneas was imprisioned on suspicion of intriguing against the king in Edinburgh Castle, where he lay till after the Prince had landed in England. By order of the Privy Council Aeneas was liberated, 10th December, upon giving his bond to appear and answer anything that might be laid to his charge, under a penalty of £500 Sterling in case of failure. As Captain Mackay was the eldest surviving son of the late Lord Reay, and as the then Lord Reay was but a boy, he wielded the influence of a chieftain over his clansmen and got them to espouse the cause of the house of Orange. The same cause was adopted by Sir George Munro of Culrain, and probably under the same influence.

P. C. Reg.

General Hugh Mackay of Scoury, who accompanied the Prince to England, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Scotland and dispatched to the north. On arrival in Edinburgh, 25th March,

1. This famous regiment was the oldest of the three forming the Scots Brigade, and was embodied in 1574 by Sir Henry Balfour. Between the years 1677 and 1775 it had no fewer than four commanding officers of the name of Mackay, and in the following order. General Hugh Mackay of Scoury was its colonel 1677-92; Brigadier-General Aeneas Mackay, son of John, 2nd Lord Reay, and nephew of General Hugh of Scoury, commanded it 1692-98; Colonel Donald Mackay, son of the Brigadier-General, was commanding officer 1742-45; and Lieutenant-General Hugh Mackay, grandson of General Hugh of Scoury, was its honorary colonel 1773-75. It had also many men in the ranks and not a few officers of the name of Mackay during more than a century of its existence, as a cursory glance at *The Scots Brigade in Holland* (Scot. Hist. Soc.) will show.

1689] 1689, his commission was confirmed by the Convention of the Scottish Estates. The task allotted to him in Scotland was anything but an easy one owing to the distracted state of the country, especially in the Highlands. Dundee raised the standard of King James and many of the Highland clans rallied round him, while some who pretended to support the Prince of Orange were secretly giving assistance to the other side. For the most part, the trained troops at Mackay's disposal were the regiments that accompanied him from Holland, but these were sadly depleted to stiffen the raw militia speedily raised, and the ranks of the old regiments had to be filled with young recruits lacking in military discipline.

Leaving most of the Dutch regiments behind him at Edinburgh to recruit, Mackay marched north in search of the enemy, and having placed a garrison in Dundee proceeded to Aberdeenshire, where he was joined by the Master of Forbes with about 600 men, who "were so ill armed and appeared so little like the work" that he decided to leave them in charge of that part of the country. Betimes Mackay reached Elgin with about 400 men, where he fortified himself, hearing that Dundee lay with a considerable army at Inverness. The northern people appeared to Mackay very indifferent to the great issue at stake.

MACKAY'S *Memoirs.*

> The people in general were disposed to submit and embrace the party which they judged most like to carry it, their zeal for the preservation of their goods going by them, far beyond the consideration of religion and liberty, which he attributed to their gross ignorance occasioned by the negligence of their ministers, as well as the large extent of their parishes."

The only men that immediately joined him were his own clansmen, to the number of about 300, and a few Rosses. The officers in command of the Mackays appear to have been the Hon. Robert Mackay, afterwards wounded at Killiecrankie; Angus Mackay of Ribigill, killed in the above battle; and Captain Hugh Mackay of Borley, afterwards Constable of Ruthven Castle. More the

BANNATYNE CLUB.

Mackays were not asked to send then—they sent 200 more shortly afterwards—nor did it seem judicious at that time to send more, owing to the unsettled state of some of their northern neighbours. On the west the Macleods of Assynt were for the Stuarts, and on the east Sinclair of "Dunbeth with two hundred hors and eight hundred foot is said to be endeavouring to join us," wrote Claverhouse. We are not aware that Dunbeath ever managed to carry out his intention of joining, but as the embers of the late feud with the Sinclairs were still hot, the Mackays had very good cause to keep a strong force watching the Druimholstein hills. To the south the Sutherlands were favourable to the Prince of Orange and did eventually join Mackay, but meantime they were loth to move. With Mackay, Sutherland, Ross, and Munro pulling together, the Sinclairs were isolated in a corner and could do nothing, unless Dundee should come north, which he never did.

At length Mackay set out from Inverness taking 200 of the Mackays along with him, and reaching Ruthven Castle, near Kingussie, made the alarming discovery that his own cavalry was in disloyal correspondence with an overwhelming force of the enemy in the neighbourhood. Placing the disaffected dragoons in the centre, carefully covered by "200 brisk Highlanders of the Lord Raes and Balnagowns men," he made a forced march in the night time towards the north-east and effected a safe junction with much needed reinforcements. His nerve and strategy at this critical juncture were most conspicuous, but he probably owed his safety to the clannish faithfulness of the "brisk Highlanders." A little later in Aberdeenshire a battle seemed imminent, but the opposing Highlanders melted away without coming to grips. After various marches in search of an enemy continually eluding him in consequence of its nimblene Mackay came to the conclusion that the only successful method of coping with the situation was to plant garrisons in central positions, and urged the same upon the authorities.

Meantime Mackay, however, had a sharp fall. He set out

1689] northwards for Blair Castle with the intention of occupying and fortifying it, and by the way had to negotiate the pass of Killiecrankie. Joined by Lord Murray, he pushed on through the dangerous defile, and on reaching Raon-Rorie, a plateau about the middle of the pass, made the alarming discovery that a strong force of hostile Highlanders were posted on the heights above him. To fall back through the narrow gorge was to court destruction, and to advance seemed impossible. On the plateau he disposed his force as best he could and waited the attack, which came in the evening. In such a situation steady troops were a necessity to resist an impetuous onset, and Mackay had not that.

The Highland method of charging was to rush on, discharge their muskets in one wild, ragged volley, then throw them away and to it with the slashing broadswords.[1] These were the tactics pursued at Killiecrankie. Mackay's men were armed with the musket and bayonet, and at that time the latter could only be screwed into the muzzle of the former after the piece was discharged. In other words the musket could not be fired with the bayonet fixed, it had to be fixed after the discharge. When the Highlanders came on Mackay's men received them with a volley which killed Dundee, but the enemy got among them with the sword before they were able to fix their bayonets, with consequences that may be imagined. Like a summer water-spout bursting on a smooth mountain side the rushing Highlanders swept a great hole through Mackay's line; what did not fall went reeling and swirling over the edge into the gorge, where lay the baggage, friend and foe all in a heap. Lieutenant-Colonel James Mackay, brother of the general, fell mortally wounded, the same fate befell Captain Angus Mackay of Ribigill and many more. Captain the Hon. Robert Mackay received eight sword cuts, some on the head, but lifted on to a horse he gallantly strove to rally his scattered

1. "They attack barefooted, without clothing but their shirts and a little Highland doublet, whereby they are certain to outrun any foot. . . . . They come on slowly till they be within distance of firing. . . . When their fire is over, they throw away their firelocks, and every one drawing a long sword. . . . . they fall a running toward the enemy":—Mackay's *Memoirs*.

men, and lived to fight another day. This battle took place on the 27th July, 1689.

With the fall of Dundee the fruits of the victory were lost to the Highlanders, save only that they walked off with the baggage. The general retired to Stirling as best he could, and in a few days receiving reinforcements doubled back to Perth, where he fell upon a body of the enemy, killing 120 and taking 30 prisoners. Still a few days later a regiment of Cameronians, having been surrounded by a large force of Jacobites under General Canon at Dunkeld, beat off their foes after a two days' fight. These two blows so disheartened the Highlanders that they lost confidence in Canon. Throughout the remainder of the year, until winter put a stop to field operations, Mackay in vain sought to get to grips with the elusive enemy.

Convinced that Cromwell's method of planting garrisons in central positions was the only sure way of restoring peace in the Highlands, he urged the matter upon the attention of the authorities at Edinburgh, but owing to miserable intrigues and divisions his advice was not followed up. The political chicanery to which Mackay was subjected made him very indignant.

MACKAY'S *Memoirs.*

"All these considerations," he says, "made the General look upon Scotsmen of those times in general as void of zeal for their religion and natural affection, seeing all men bent after their particular advantages, and none minding sincerely and self denyedly the common good, which gave him a real distaste of the country and service; resolving from that time forward to disengage himself out of it as soon as possible he could get it done, and that the service could allow of."

As soon as the field was open in the spring of 1690, active operations were resumed. About the middle of April, Sir T. Livingston with 300 of his own dragoons, 400 of Leslie's, a company of "100 brisk Highlanders of Lord Rea's men," and six companies of Grants, making "in all about 1200 choise men," marched out of Inverness towards the east. On the evening of the 1st May they learned that the Jacobite army lay encamped on the haughs of Cromdale, and made dispositions for a surprise attack as the only

1689-91] way of getting to close quarters with the vanishing enemy. Livingston, "having past his Highland company before him," followed with three troops of his own dragoons, afterwards known as the Scots Greys, and crossing a stream came in sight of the enemy. His object now was to get between the enemy and the foothills, towards which he feared they would fly. Off went the dragoons at the gallop, and off went the Strathnaver men too. It was a race of man and horse, "wherein the Highland company outrun his horse" and got between the enemy and the hills. Of the enemy 400 men were killed or taken prisoner, and the rest were forced to flee. The smart fight at Cromdale fairly broke the back of the resistance.

By writing directly to King William himself, Mackay was enabled to carry his point with regard to the garrisons. He immediately set to and built a stronghold at Inverlochy, which he dubbed Fort William out of compliment to the king, placing within it 1000 men provisioned "with 2000 bolls of meal, 30 hogsheads of aquavitae, and 60 fat cows." The quantity of whisky stored at Fort William seems to indicate that the soldiers of these times drank deeply. Of other luxuries, however, they had very little beyond oatmeal and some beef. Mackay then fortified Ruthven Castle and left it in charge of 100 Strathnaver men, under Captain Hugh Mackay of Borley. Parties of Sutherlands, Mackays, Grants, and Rosses, he placed in Inverness, Urquhart Castle, Ercles Castle in Strathglass and Brahan Castle near Dingwall, while three frigates scoured the Western Isles. In this way Mackay effectually pacified the Highlands for the time being.

The civil war in Ireland proceeding apace, King William ordered General Mackay with the best of his Scots troops to reinforce General Ginkle. Soon after his arrival beyond the Irish Channel he greatly distinguished himself at the seige of Athlone, 30th June, 1691, by fording the swollen waters of the Shannon in face of a hot fire and charging up to and over the enemy's trenches, carrying consternation before him. This is acknowledged to be the most brilliant feat of

arms in that campaign, while his prompt and intrepid march to the assistance of a division of the army overpowered at Aughrim turned the scale of victory in favour of the British. It was in consequence of these victories, in which Mackay played such a conspicuous part, that General Ginkle, Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Ireland, was created Viscount Aughrim and Earl of Athlone. There is every reason to believe that General Mackay would have been suitably rewarded for these splendid achievements were it not for his untimely death the following year on the battlefield, as this extract from the Proceedings of the Estates of Scotland, preserved in the Advocates' Library, shows:—

"General Mackay, it is said, is to be made earl of the same title his father had before as a private gentleman."

On the conclusion of the war in Ireland, General Mackay returned to Holland with his Scots Brigade and took part in the bloody battle of Steinkirk, 3rd August, 1692, where he fell mortally wounded He was ordered by Count Solmes, the senior officer that day, to make an assault which Mackay saw could only end in disaster after remonstrating in vain he intrepidly advanced to the at exclaiming "the will of God be done." On that fateful day General Mackay and 3000 of his gallant men fell, covered with glory th not crowned with victory. Among the slain were the young Earl of Angus and Sir Robert Douglas of Glenbervie. Count Solmes, in consequence of his melancholy blunder that day, was forbidden the royal presence henceforth. General Mackay throughout his warlike career manifested a depth of piety and a purity of character, which well matched his military skill and dauntless courage, as Bishop Burnett, a contemporary, abundantly testifies.[1]

Shortly after the death of his grandfather, Sir George Munro of Culrain, in 1693 or the following year, the young Lord Reay passed over to Holland where his two uncles, Aeneas and Robert Mackay,

1. For further particulars the reader should consult Mackay's *Memoirs*, and his *Life* by John Mackay of Rockfield.

GENERAL HUGH MACKAY OF SCOURY

FROM A PORTRAIT IN THE POSSESSION OF LORD REAY.

1696 | were on service, the one a Lieutenant-General and the other a Colonel. Here his Lordship finished his education, and from thence did not permanently return to Strathnaver until 1701. So long as his uncles lived they did not spare themselves in promoting the interests of the head of their family, but the one uncle died in December, 1696, and the other the following year. On the 20th July, 1697, Lord Reay writes from Bommel to Lord Tarbet as follows:

"The removal of my uncles lies very severe upon me, especially Colonel Aeneas', whose care for me in my education was in every manner fatherly, that his death is like to defeat the hopes I had of doing any service to my family—my education being the only way I proposed to myself, by which I could be rendered capable of doing anything to retrieve the losses of my family or serve my country; being willing to sacrifice my repose, how soon I was capable, for the rest of my days, to these two. What may become of me or it now, providence alone can determine, upon whom only I depend for a true solace; nor would I neglect the means, so long as I could perceive any probability of succeeding . . . . . I shall now only entreat that your Lordship may be pleased to continue your wonted goodness and friendship for me, and to make interest with His Majesty and his ministers to consider the circumstances of a family that has suffered so severely in his service."

COMMERCE.

Pious phrases were common in those days, but his Lordship's resolution to rely on God's providence was a marked feature of his life.

At this time, a strong stream of Strathnaver men must have flowed abroad as soldiers of fortune. For more than a generation there is the great number of officers witnessing wadsets, tacks, contracts, bonds, etc., preserved among the *Reay Papers*, is conclusive proof of the above assertion. The favourite field of service was Holland, but in 1698 not a few joined in the ill-starred Darien expedition, which was intended to found the trading colony of New Caledonia, on the isthmus of Panama, and for which about half a million of money was raised in Scotland. As at that time free trade between England and Scotland did not exist, the jealousy and passive hostility of the former eventually ruined a scheme in which the latter

lost not only its money, but sacrificed the lives of 4000 brave men. On the inception of the company, a young Edinburgh lawyer, Donald Mackay, son of Captain William of Borley, joined it in a military capacity, having raised a hundred of his clansmen to that end. The *Blackcastle MS.* records as follows:

"He raised a company of men for the service of the colony and was elected one of the council for managing the company's affairs. On 17th July, 1698, he sailed with the fleet from Leith and arrived at the Isthmus of Darien, 28th September, the same year. The council having landed took possession of the colony under the name of Caledonia, and fixed their residence at New Edinburgh, 1st January, 1699. Captain Mackay was soon thereafter appointed to return to Britain with an address on the the occasion to His Majesty, King William III. He arrived in London the beginning of August, 1699, and in Edinburgh the 28th of the same month, when he was presented with the freedom of the city.

On the 24st September, 1699, he again took his departure for the colony on board the ship called the *Rising Sun*. The ship having run short of water and provisions, put ashore at the island of Montserrat for a fresh supply, 9th November, 1699, when to their great astonishment they were informed by the Governor that he had received instructions from the English Government desiring him not to hold any intercourse with the colony. Upon which the ship sailed for St Cristopher and met with a similar refusal. They afterwards touched at Port Royal, Jamaica, 13th February 1700, and were informed that Sir William Beatson, the Governor, had issued a proclamacion strictly prohibiting all persons, under any pretence whatever, from holding any correspondence with the Scots Settlement of Darien, or to give any assistance with arms, ammunition, provisions, etc. In consequence of which the vessel was obliged to sail again without any supply, and being reduced to the greatest want the men were endeavouring to catch fish, when they perceived a large shark following the ship. Captain Mackay, being a strong athletic man, took a harpoon which he threw and stuck fast in the body of the fish, but unfortunately not attending to have the rope attached to the harpoon sufficiently long and free it got entangled around his arm, by which he was in a moment pulled overboard and drowned."

Captain Mackay on this second expedition was joined by his cousin, Donald Mackay, an Aberach, at the head of another company of Strathnaver men, who almost all died miserably on the voyage out, of hunger and disease.

1700] During Lord Reay's absence in Holland the Sheriff-Depute of Strathnaver was George Munro, who "was chocked in his own barley," as his Lordship remarks incidentally in a document dated 1719. We suspect that Munro came by his untimely death about 1701, as the last document of the *Reay Papers* signed by him is dated 1700. His tombstone in Farr Churchyard, blazoned with the Munro arms and showing his initials, does not carry a decipherable date. In local tradition he is known as Fear Stra-Nuadhar, the man of Strath-Novar, and the traditional account of his death, which we give for what it is worth, is as follows. Munro, who lived at Rifail, in the Naver valley, made a very liberal use of the gallows in his administration of justice. Naturally this did not please the lieges, and matters came to a crisis when he hung an Aberach boy, found in possession of a salmon, on Croc na Croich, Hill of the Gallows, above Bettyhill. The Aberachs sullenly vowed vengeance and bided their time.

Not long after this Stra Nuadhar suspected that corn was being stolen out of his barn at Rifail, and appointed a strapping Aberach to watch the premises during the night. Some of the barley corn was stored in *builg*, skin-sacks, and the rest gathered in a great unwinnowed heap in a corner of the building. Things were quiet at the barn for a few nights after the watch had been set, but at length movements were heard at the back door as of one stealthily endeavouring to steal in. The guard snored feigning sleep, and the would be burglar thus encouraged crept in and began to lug away one of the *builg*. In an instant the watchman seized the intruder, and lifting him off the ground thrust him head foremost into the heap of barley, The victim struggled vigorously for a time, but the Aberach grimly held on, and having effectually smothered his prisoner, sat on the body and awaited the break of day. When the morning brought relief to the guard the dead man was found to be none other than the sheriff-depute himself! It is likely that Munro entered the barn to test the faithfulness of his watchman, or he may have been

inveigled in; but be that as it may, the feeling throughout Strathnaver was that some hangings were now avenged.

In the autumn of 1702 Reay passed over to Holland, and in December entered into a contract of marriage, at Bomell in Guelderland, with Margaret, daughter of General Hugh Mackay of Scoury. As the general's family was domiciled in Holland and had an estate there, the lands of Edderachilis and Scoury were given in dowry to Lord Reay by disposition, dated at Bomell, 24th February, 1703. This was a large and valuable addition to the Reay estate, which his Lordship endeavoured to still further increase by the purchase if possible of the lands of Sandside, in Caithness. Reay writes from Bomell, 3rd January, 1703, to Viscount Tarbet, Secretary of State:—

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CROMARTIE, EDN.

"I gave Lord Seafield the trouble of getting me a gift of recognition of the lands of Sandside, and am informed your Lordship stopped it on Duren's account. I assured your Lordship at Edinburgh that I had no design against Duren any manner of way, which Sir George Sinclair knows very well, but against Sandside; and I expect your Lordship will be pleased to get me the said signater past, and send it to Mr. James, your son: and if I don't satisfy him fully on that head, I shant desire it. My Lord, the only reason I ask this gift for is, to be my security in case I buy any debts against that estate; for if any other should get it afterwards, my right will prove null."

Tarbet, who was bitterly hostile to General Hugh Mackay of Scoury, as the *Memoirs* of the said general show, did nothing to further Reay's project regarding Sandside, which thus failed. But the above serves to show how keenly Reay was set upon the re-establishment of his house.

Although the Highlands were subdued in 1690 by General Mackay's policy of forts and blockhouses, such as had embarked their all and lost severely in support of the Stuart cause continued their adherence, gambler-like hugging the hope that by rooting themselves to the same old table their lost fortunes might be recovered. These thorough-paced Jacobites endeavoured to fan the flame of national discord wherever it made its appearance, and they were not without

1715] opportunities. The haughty, silent bearing of King William during the Darien trouble raised a fierce spirit of resentment throughout Scotland, and the union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland in 1707 was bitterly received by many in the northern part of the island who had fought against the Jacobites. The Cameronian Covenanters of the west loathed the union, because of their hatred of Prelacy, from which they had suffered so much. So excited did they become that some of them took up arms, and for a time wandered about aimlessly in search of a victim whereupon to wreak their vengeance. When they discovered that this was playing into the hands of the Jacobites they stopped, inwardly groaning.

Before the two countries had time to settle down under one Parliament, Queen Ann died, 1st August, 1714, leaving no issue. The crown passed once more to a foreign-born descendant of the Scottish kings, George I., a Hanoverian, and great-grandson of James VI., who was chosen because he happened to be a Protestant. Ignorant of British politics and methods of government, the new king did not act with sufficient prudence at the beginning. Looking upon the responsible officials of the late queen as hostile, he showed them scant ceremony, curtly dismissing the Earl of Mar, Secretary of State for Scotland. The proud and powerful earl threw himself into the arms of the rejoicing Jacobites, and though he remained at Court for about a twelvemonth thereafter, was in secret correspondence with the Chevalier de St. George. In August, 1715, Mar suddenly set out for the north, and on pretence of holding a hunting expedition in the forest of Mar dispatched invitations to the northern Jacobite leaders, who mustered in considerable strength. The usual lavish promises of French aid in men, money, and arms made such an impression upon the excited Highland imagination, that the Chevalier was proclaimed King James VIII., and his standard flung to the winds.

The plan of campaign was to capture Edinburgh, and then push on south into England; but the Government acted rapidly, and Mar did not. The charge of the south of Scotland was put into the hands

of a very capable man, the Earl of Argyle, who fastened on Stirling Bridge to bar Mar's march southward, while he used the utmost expedition to raise more men and means. The Earl of Sutherland, another capable man who had served in the Flanders War, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the six northern counties of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, Cromarty, Inverness, Nairn, and Moray, with a commission to raise all the fencible men within these shires who could be got to serve the Government of King George. The Earl of Sutherland, who happened to be in London at the time, starting for the north and reaching Dunrobin Castle by boat on the 28th September, put his commission of Lieutenancy into immediate execution. From Caithnessshire the earl got no assistance, so far as we are aware. The wily Glenorchy, who had much power in Caithness then, like his clansman of Breadalbane hung off to see which side came out on the top. But Lord Reay, Ross of Balnagown, Munro of Fowlis, Forbes of Culloden, and Grant of Strathspey heartily responded to the Earl of Sutherland's call.

In the far north the perplexing problem for a time was the attitude of the young and hot-headed Seaforth. His mother, his countess, and some of his other relatives did their best to restrain him, but all in vain. Seaforth was too weak to resist the blandishments of the Mar emissaries, who puffed him up by the prospect of rivalling the fame of Dundee or Montrose in the former risings. Now that Seaforth had openly cast in his lot with the Jacobites in arms, it became of the utmost importance to prevent him from joining Mar as long as possible, and thus stop a rush to the south before Argyle was ready to give battle. Till Seaforth with the Mackenzies, the Macdonalds of Clanranald, the Macleods of Lewis, the Mackinnons, the Macraes, Frasers, etc. came south, Mar would not venture to advance, however much he may have fretted at the delay.

The Earl of Sutherland grasped the situation and acted with promptitude. Within a week after his arrival at Dunrobin he set out for Tain, with 400 of his tenants, where he found Reay with 500

1715] Mackays, and Balnagown with 200 Rosses awaiting him—they had no arms for more men even though they had more time to assemble them. Of the Mackays the man with most military experience was Captain Hugh of Borley, Constable of Ruthven Castle during the rising under Dundee. The force which mustered at Tain, however, was very badly equipped, as the vessel which was chartered to bring arms and ammunition fell into the hands of one of the lieutenants of Macintosh of Borlum, at Burntisland. Many had no muskets, and some were only armed with rude pikes in the shape of poles pointed with an iron head. But they pushed on to Alness as they were, for it was necessary to threaten the Seaforth lands in order to delay the southward march of the Mackenzies. At Alness, where they entrenched, they were joined by the Munros, and obtained possession of six small cannon dispatched from a frigate lying in Cromarty Firth. The combined forces under Sutherland posted at Alness numbered about 1800 men.

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As soon as Seaforth was joined at Brahan Castle by Sir Donald Macdonald with about 700 men, he set out for Alness with about 3000 men, 500 of whom were horsemen, reaching the latter place early on the morning of Monday, 10th October, to find that Sutherland had retired the preceeding day. Sutherland fearing a turning movement by Seaforth's cavalry sped back to Tain, and gathering all the boats on the south side of Dornoch Firth ferried his force over to the further side. Of course, Seaforth in his account of the campaign makes merry over the retreat of the northmen, and they have been severely lampooned in the Gaelic song *Caberfeidh*, in praise of the Mackenzies; but the retreat was a clever piece of strategy. To manoeuvre an ill-trained and half-armed host of Highlanders in retreat, without confusion or material loss, showed marked military ability. And that is what was done at Alness. Not one of the six cannon was lost; every one was safely restored to the frigate at Cromarty, on Seaforth's own showing. Again, every available boat on the Tain side of Dornoch Firth was promptly secured and brought

SEAFORTH'S MSS. IN BLAIR, MS.

to the north side, so that the enemy could not follow. This proves that there was no panic.

Aeneas Sage, afterwards minister of Lochcarron, who was in the Royalist camp at Alness on the morning of the retreat, meeting Lord Reay expressed his sorrow at the idea of retiring without coming to blows. "What you say young man may be true," replied the sagacious nobleman; "but is it not better to make a wise retreat than a foolish engagement?" Nobly spoken! The advance to Alness having served its purpose in detaining Seaforth, the wisest and most humane course now was to retire, in order that the men might be properly armed, as they were shortly afterwards. We shall soon see Seaforth in retreat, and the northmen with proper arms in their hands clamouring for a battle which he refuses to abide.[1] Such is war!

MEMORABILIA DOMESTICA

Seaforth now set free sped south, and leaving a garrison at Inverness hastened to join Mar. With their united forces they gave battle to Argyle at Sheriffmuir, 14th November, and failed in their object. Very soon thereafter Seaforth sped backwards; but meantime Forbes of Culloden, Grant, and Lovat captured Inverness, and were joined by Sutherland and Mackay. When the crest-fallen Seaforth approached Inverness, 200 Sutherlands, 150 Mackays, 300 Grants, 150 Munros, and 50 of Culloden's men set out to give him battle, 26 December, as it was reported that he intended to recapture that town. But Seaforth avoided them and made his way back to Brahan, while the pursuing force halted at Castle Downie, near Beauly, until Sutherland himself came up with more troops. Then crossing the Beauly water on the ice with about 1600 men, they were met by messengers from the Dowager Lady Seaforth promising the submission of her son. Seaforth, however, did not submit, he passed over to the Lews and made his way to France. To France also fled Mar and some of the other Jacobite leaders.

As the country was in a very unsettled state, the Mackays,

1. A modern writer, D. Murray-Rose, referring to the Alness retreat, permits himself to describe Lord Reay, as one "who, in turning his back upon the foe, follow ' the hereditary custom in his family." If this be not prejudice gone mad, we do not know what . 'l it!

1719] Sutherlands, and some of the other loyal clans, remained for a considerable time under arms holding the discontented in check. Some of the Mackays proceeded to Badenoch, others were quartered at Fort Augustus, and one company under Ensign Hugh Mackay garrisoned Brahan Castle.[1]

In 1718 war broke out between Britain and Spain of which the Jacobites made use, or rather in which tools were made of them. Cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish minister, endeavoured to make a diversion by dispatching a force to Scotland, which landed at Lochalsh, in the west of Ross, toward the close of April, 1719. The Spaniards were joined by Clanranald, Lochiel, Mackinnon, Chisholm, and Seaforth with a considerable body of men, but the rising was soon crushed. On the 4th June, Ensign Hugh Mackay, in charge of the garrison at Brahan, was ordered to join General Wightman at Inverness, with "80 of his best men." On the 8th, General Wightman passed Fort Augustus with about 1600 men, and on the 10th June completely defeated the rebels at Glensheil, capturing most of the Spaniards.

In the battle of Glenshiel the Mackays and Sutherlands, who were posted on the right wing as the plan of battle shows, pushed up the steep mountain side in grand style notwithstanding the hot fire of the enemy. Lord Strathnaver writes General Wightman, 13th June, congratulating him on "so glorious an action," and proceeds to say how pleased he was to hear that the Sutherl[illegible] [illegible]ire militia had done their duty. Thereafter "his Lordship wrot[illegible] [illegible]eral letters in favour of Ensign Hugh Mackay," who seems to have particularly distinguished himself that day.[2]

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Suth. Bk.

The religious progress and condition of Strathnaver now demands our attention. Up to the Reformation the countries of Strathnaver,

1. For our account of the Mar rebellion we are indebted to the Earl of Sutherland's account of his campaign in the *Sutherland Book*, the *Seaforth MSS.*, and the *Lovat MSS.*

2. Hugh Mackay, son of the Hon. Charles of Sandwood, afterwards got a commission in General Oglethorpe's regiment, and rose to the rank of major. He acted on the staff of General Oglethorpe during the Spanish invasion of Georgia in 1742, and during the rising of '45 was very serviceable in organising the men of Sutherland and Strathnaver.

Sutherland, and Caithness formed one diocese, and from that date up to the Revolution Settlement in 1688 continued to be one ecclesiastical unit, alternately Presbyterian and Prelatic in accordance with the well known see-saw supremacy of bishop and presbyter. Not long after 1688, the country of Sutherland was disjoined into a separate Presbytery; but Caithness and Strathnaver remained united until 1725, when the latter was erected into the Presbytery of Tongue, very much through the influence of Lord Reay. For more than one hundred years after the Reformation, religion seems to have been very much at a discount throughout Strathnaver, which in this respect resembled many another district in the Highlands. But in 1688 the strong Protestant Presbyterianism of General Hugh Mackay of Scoury, imbibed in Holland, began to tell upon his countrymen, and thenceforward with growing enthusiasm they continued to adhere to that form of religion. The impulse given by the general was reinforced later on by his Lordship, whose early education in a pronouncedly religious family, in Holland, told effectually. So greatly changed did the people become, that in 1750, two years after his Lordship's death, a Government official or spy reported:—

THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND IN 1750

"The common people of the McKays are the most religious of all the tribes that dwell among the mountains, south or north. . . . . Of old, they were reckon'd the most barbarous and wicked of all the clans; but they were effectually civiliz'd in the time of the late Lord Reae, to which Lieutenant General Mackay, a man of eminent virtue and merit, contributed not a little. . . . . The McKays abhor thieving."

The Mackays did not abhor thieving once upon a time; three generations earlier they were adepts[1] at the business of "lifting," but the influence of one good man in a long life-time brought about this great improvement.

1. About the middle of the Naver valley, and leading to the east, there is a pass called Bealach nan Creach, Pass of Spoils, equally suitable for a raid upon Sutherland or Caithness. Bealach nam Mearlach, Pass of Thieves, some distance further up the valley, opens in the direction of the Machair of Sutherland only, and consequently was not such a favourite. The old time freebooting proclivities of the Strathnaver man are crystallized in his own pithy Gaelic proverb:—

"Thar gach bealach—Bealach nan Creach."

Best of passes—the Pass of Spoils.

1719-21] Sage in *Memorabilia Domestica* informs us that at the settlement of the Revd. John Mackay, minister at Lairg, in 1714, "the inhabitants were plunged in ignorance and superstition . . . . . the churchyard, even on the Sabbath, often exhibited scenes of violence and bloodshed." His account of the parishes of Lochcarron and Reay, the one in Ross and the other in Caithness, is drawn with an equally lurid pen, but we must recollect that Sage was not a contemporary. In a notarial copy, however, of the marriage settlement of William, Lord Strathnaver, and Catherine Mcraison, 4th October, 1705, preserved among the *Reay Papers*, one item of provision was:—"All and hail the free burgh of barony of Inverbrora, with ane weekly merket upon the sabbath day, and four fairs yearly." If we may understand this to mean that a merket was held at Brora every Lord's Day, and we do not know what other meaning to attach to it, the situation in 1750 indicated nothing less than a social revolution as contrasted with that in 1705.

In 1719, Lord Reay, who was an elder of the Kirk, applied to the General Assembly for assistance to furnish his people with clergymen and schoolmasters, as the teinds were exhausted. His proposal was to divide the large parish of Durness into three parishes, viz., Tongue, Durness, and Ederachilis, to provide each of these parishes with a minister and a schoolmaster, to settle an unordained minister at Achness in the parish of Farr, and to erect the various parishes of Strathnaver into a separate Presbytery.

The Assembly cordially received his proposal, but did nothing that year, so far as we know. Meantime his Lordship was not idle: he took up the matter with enthusiasm and wrote to several like-minded people for support. The following letter, dated 16th March, 1721, from the Revd. D. MacKilligan, minister of Alness, and chaplain to the Lords of Sutherland and Reay during the Mar rebellion, is a specimen of some of the replies which he got.

"My Lord:—The proposition you have in view is so necessary, so pious, and altogether worthy of yourself, that I am persuaded it will meet

REAY PAPERS. with all due encouragement from every good man. I am very certain that not only our Presbytery, but likewise the whole Synod will use the utmost diligence for making it effectual. Mr. Stuart of Inverness is with me at writing of this, and offers your Lordship his congratulations with his service."

At the meeting of the General Assembly in May, 1721, the various congregations of the Kirk throughout Scotland were recommended to make a collection towards the erection of the new parishes in Strathnaver, and for this end a sum of 26000 merks was raised before the Assembly met in 1724. At this latter meeting the thanks of the Church were conveyed to his Lordship in very warm terms by the Moderator, the Revd. Wm. Wishart.

APPENDIX No. 50.

When the Assembly met in 1725, authority was given to erect the Presbytery of Tongue, which was accordingly done. At the same time, the Moderator, the Revd. J. Alston, was instructed to congratulate his Lordship in name of the Kirk, and wrote as follows:—

"My Lord, for such great and good services all that love our Lord Jesus Christ, whether ministers or christians, will surely honour your Lordship's name and keep it in perpetual remembrance, as far as the knowledge of what you have done can spread. And the blessing of many souls that are now ready to perish will be upon your Lordship and your family &c."

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For the new erections his Lordship not only gave free sites and glebes, but out of his own pocket made good a deficiency of £1280 Scots, which was incurred in extra building. A full and very interesting account of expenditure in connection with these buildings is preserved in the *Reay Papers*. It appears that there were, both at Tongue and at Durness, an old church and manse roofed with divot, but the new buildings were roofed with slate. The new buildings at Laderachilis, however, were roofed with divot and heather. The wages of a labourer or "piner" was at the rate of "1/ and 2 pecks meal, weekly, with 2 to buy shoes,[1] ye boll of meal at ye rate of £6

1. The allowance for shoes, which is constantly made to labourers, would seem to indicate that the common people went barefoot for the most part. The same was true in other parts of the Highlands at that period.

1734-40] Scots." The masons were paid at the rate of "3s. and 2 pecks meal and 6½d. worth of cheese, weekly." Each church was provided with "a sand-glass and baptism font at 7s. 6d." An item at Ederachilis was "to thatching ye kirk with heather and ye manse with divot and fern, £1." The stipends of the new erected charges were as follows:—at Tongue £48 8s. 10d.; at Durness £42 16s. 8d.; at Ederachilis £43 10s.

It has often been observed that when the energies of a strong people are directed into a religious channel, at a certain stage of civilization, they run into excess unless properly guided. This proved to be the case in Strathnaver. The forced settlement at Farr, in 1734, of the Revd. John Skeldoch was vehemently opposed by a considerable body of the parishoners, who broke away from his ministrations. Their chief objection to him was excessive worldliness, which seems to have increased after his settlement among them.[1] At anyrate, so dissatisfied did many of the people become that they absented themselves from Church ordinances, and instituted fellowship meetings throughout the parish.

A leader of the disaffected party in the heights of the parish was Robert Mackay, tacksman of Halmadary, and grandson of the Covenanting lady, Mrs. Fearn of Pitcalion, who during the killing-times fled to Strathnaver, as already recorded in this memoir. Halmadary statedly assembled the people at his own house and taught them, but under his frenzied exhortations, based upon figurative and fanciful interpretations of Scripture, they grew insanely fanatical. The people met on a certain day, were addressed by

1. During the ministry of Mr. Skeldoch, which lasted until his death in 1753, the religious interests of the parish of Farr suffered severely, as the *Records of Presbytery* show. He became tacksman of Syre, Ravigill, Borgybeg, the Water of Borgy, etc., sub-renting his sub-tenants so notoriously, that in 1748 he was suspended by the Synod after a prolonged Presbyterial dealing. The heritors of the parish, the Earl of Sutherland and Mackay of Strathy, countenanced him too long.

Mr. Skeldoch, who was minister at Kilmonivaig, near Fort William, before his translation to Farr, did not enjoy a bed of roses in Lochaber either. In 1725, he took a derelict farm near Fort William, but "the former possessor lay still till the minister had stocked the farm with cattle, and built a house on it, then with some other rogues went to the place where the calves were kept, and with their durks cut off their heads. . . . . But finding that this did not force the minister to leave the place, they waited . . . opportunity of his being from home, when a company of them went well-armed, surrounded his house, pulled down a part of it, and fired several shots towards the bed where his wife lay.": *The Highlands of Scotland in 1750.*

Halmadary on Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac—a favourite theme of his—when preacher and hearers became so excited that it was seriously decided to sacrifice the tacksman's infant son, there and then, at his father's fireside. An altar of wood was built on the hearth and the child was being prepared for immolation, when opportunely a travelling merchant called at the house, and, by his strongly expressed abhorrence of their intended deed, broke the spell. Those present fled to their homes in shame: and to this day that meeting is spoken of throughout the north of Sutherland with bated breath, as Tuiteam Halmadairi, Lapse of Halmadary.[1] This happened about 1740, and is incidentally referred to in a minute of Presbytery, dated 2nd March, 1749, as the "melancholy scene that happened several years ago in one of these unauthorised meetings at Halmadary."

For some years before the rebellion of 1745, there was a coolness between the families of Sutherland and Reay. In 1737 they disputed about the estate marches in the neighbourhood of Ben Hee, and though the matter was submitted to arbitration the arrangement broke down. This disagreement led to political rivalry as to the Parliamentary representation of the county, during which Sutherland and Reay created faggot voters not a few. The political warfare raged from 1741 to 1744, but when the thunderclouds of civil war began to gather in '45, Lord Reay, who had already lived through three such national convulsions, realising the imperative necessity of united action on the part of those who were friendly to the existing Government, made fraternal overtures to the Earl of Sutherland through his son, the Hon. George Mackay. On the 1st July, 1745, Reay wrote to the Earl of Sutherland:—

Appendix No. 52.

"I heartily wish that all our differences were buryed in oblivion, and to that end I have made some proposals which I think are equal and honourable, and for the real interest of your Lordship's family, as well as my own, and which my son George will lay before you whenever your Lordship pleases."

1. We understand that such a sacrifice was actually offered up in Germany, during the excesses of the Peasants' War, and shortly after the Lutheran Reformation.

1715] The proposal was a Bond of Friendship, which Lord Reay signed on the 18th and the Earl of Sutherland on the 26th July. The object of the Bond is set forth thus:

"To secure our acting with mutual harmony and uniting the whole strength of both our families and adherents, so as to be able in any public danger to render the more considerable and effectual service to his present Majesty, King George the Second, for supporting the succession in the Protestant line of his most illustrious house, and for securing the present happy establishment in Church and State, and defeating the designs of his Maj's. enemies both open and secret. We do in these and many other weighty considerations mutuallie agree, and by the sacred tie and pledge of our word and honour on both sides, Bind and oblige ourselves and our families and followers to each other."

APPENDIX No. [illegible]

From further correspondence, it seems that some of Sutherland's friends endeavoured to sow discord[1] between the two families, for Reay writes on the 24th August:

"I reckon the many letters your Lordship is pleased to acquaint me you get against your joining in friendship with me a double tye on me, to exert my-self all in my power on every occasion to make you as easy as I can, to convince you of my sincerity and readyness to support your honour and interest, and thereby to show others how far they are mistaken, for your Lordship will still find me your best friend."

SCRIPT No. [illegible] VOL. [illegible]

Reay proceeds, "I have followed your Lordship's example as to listing men, but without arms and amunition we can do very little." And he adds the postscript, "I hope your Lordship will reserve some powder and lead for me, for which I'll pay the value, and share with me when you get any arms. I'm informed this minute that Major Mackay [Riarchar] is called for to London. Your Lordship should write to the Duke of Argyle to get him returned to us, as he'l be very useful[2] as matters go."

From information which reached Lord Reay as to the movements of Macdonald of Barisdale, he dispatched a force to the head of Loch Shin in order to bar the pass, and urged the Earl of Sutherland to

1. The author of *The Highlands of Scotland in 1.* reports, "The pity is the present Earl of Sutherland should be so weak a man.

2. "The Mackays are said to be a better militia than any of the neighbouring clans, for which this is assigned as a reason that several officers of this clan in the Dutch service obtained the Lord Reay's countenance to recruit in his country upon this express condition that they should return the men after being a certain number of years in the service, and take new men in their room."—*The Highlands of Scotland in 1750.*

send them assistance. Reay also dispatched a force to guard the passes of Edernachilis, apprehensive of an attack from that quarter by the Mackenzies and the Macleods of Assint. As the Records of the Presbytery of Tongue show, the people of Assint were disaffected, and some years before the '45 Lady Assint was so strongly suspected of Papistical leanings that the Presbytery had once and again to deal with her.

Meantime Captain the Hon. Alexander Mackay, who had lost touch with Sir John Cope, struck off towards Aberdeen, took ship and reached his general just before the battle of Prestonpans, at which Mackay was taken prisoner but soon released on parole. While the Pretender lay at Edinburgh preparing for his advance into England, President Forbes was busy in the north organising the loyalists, and on the 8th October was joined by General Loudon, who assumed command of any troops that could be got together. At the request of President Forbes, both Sutherland and Reay sent levies to Loudon at Inverness, as also did Grant, Seaforth, Munro, etc., but this militia was by no means enthusiastic and desertions were common. Of Captain Gunn's company almost every man deserted, but Gunn's loyalty was suspected.

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With these troops Loudon went as far as Fort Augustus, and returning apprehended, at Castle Downie, Simon, Lord Lovat, who had been playing a double game. A few days thereafter, on 12th December, Lieutenant William Mackay, whom we take to be Mackay of Melness, sent a graphic account of the capture of Lovat to the Earl of Sutherland. Before the close of December another company of Mackays, under Captain the Hon. George Mackay, started from Tongue for Inverness, as appears from an entry in the Records of the Presbytery of Tongue, dated 25th December. The contents of the letter which the Presbytery sent to Loudon by the hands of Captain Mackay are not recorded.

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On the Pretender's return to Inverness after the failure of his expedition into England, General Loudon and President Forbes fell

1746] back towards the north, pursued by Lord George Murray, the Duke of Perth, the Earl of Cromartie, Barisdale, etc., who managed to get across Dornoch Firth and to capture Dunrobin Castle. Loudon and Forbes escaped to Skye, Sutherland in a fishing boat made his way aboard a frigate, and the militia fled to the hills. About the beginning of April, 1746, Cromartie's son, Lord Macleod, by the orders of the Prince set out for Caithness, where he collected the revenues and endeavoured to raise recruits, his headquarters being Thurso. By his own account, Macleod had little success in his efforts to raise the Sinclairs—only one gentleman with about 30 ill-armed followers turned up at the place of muster, Spittal Hill. This gentleman was Sinclair of Scotscalder, whose estate was afterwards forfeited.

The Sinclairs of Caithness, however, were strongly Jacobite, but the evident failure of the Pretender on his expedition to Derby damped their enthusiasm, and Cromartie's account may not be strictly accurate in consequence of his own failure. The author of *The Highlands of Scotland in 1750* reports:—

> That the Caithness men had "four or five hundred in readiness to join Sir James Stuart of Burrons, from the Orkneys. . . . They were in arms about the middle of April but the news of the battle of Culloden spilt their parade, and made them sneak home again. . . . Besides it was discovered, that some of the Sinclairs had corresponded with disaffected persons at Edinburgh, two years before the rebellion broke out, and had not the lords Sutherland and Reae been in their way, they had in all likelyhood been out among the first of the rebels."

While Lord Macleod was at Thurso, in which there was, by the way, "a Jacobite meeting house till after the battle of Culloden," he was joined by the men of Lochbroom under the brother of Mackenzie of Ballone. Macleod made an attempt to invade Strathnaver by way of Drumholstein, but finding that the Mackays were prepared to contest the passage did not persist. The opposing party was probably under the command of the Hon. Hugh Mackay of Bighouse. Macleod then crossed the Ord and rejoined his father at Dunrobin.

While these things were going on, an event of prime importance took place in the neighbourhood of Tongue. The *Hazard*, a French ship carrying treasure for the Prince to the amount of 12,500 guineas, ran into the Kyle of Tongue pursued by a British frigate, on the evening of the 25th March. Through the night the crew and soldiers disembarked carrying the money, but next day Captain the Hon. George Mackay met them near Drum Nan Coup, and after a smart fight captured both men and treasure. The *London Gazette* of the 15th April, 1746, reports as follows:—

"Aberdeen, April 6. Captain Mackay, Lord Reay's son, and Sir Henry Munro, son of the late Sir Robert, both Captains in Lord Loudon's regiment, are just come hither with letters from Captain O'Brian of *The Sheerness* man of war, now off this place, giving an account that after chasing the *Hazard* sloop (called by the French the *Prince Charles* now) above 56 leagues, he drove her ashore and obliged the French and Spaniards who were in her to quit her and to land, which they did with five chests of money to the value of £12,000 and upwards, in order to join the rebels: but the Lord Reay in whose country they were landed, and at whose house Captain Mackay, Sir Henry Munro, Lord [?Captain] Charles Gordon, and Captain Macleod with some others of Lord Loudon's regiment were, with about 80 men of said regiment, who had been driven thither by the rebells, marched out and attacked them, and after killing three or four, and dangerously wounding eight, took the remaining 156, officers, soldiers, and sailors prisoners, who were immediately embarked on board the *Sheerness*, and the prize with the Highland officers and men who made the capture are now here. . . . . The money that was landed out of the *Hazard* sloop, was taken by Lord Reay's men.'

Perhaps the most accurate account of this incident is that reported in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1746, and from which we give the following extract:—

"Edinburgh, April 9, 1746. Lord Reay who arrived at Leith yesterday gave the following account of the taking of the above ship [the *Hazard*]. On the 25th of March, the *Hazard* sloop was observed by Lord Reay and his people sailing up the Tongue bay, and was soon followed by Captain O'Brien in the *Sheerness*, who immediately attacked her. In the engagement the *Hazard* sloop had several men killed besides a good many wounded, and not being able to maintain the fight, she ran ashore at the shallows, where the *Sheerness* could not follow, and there landed her men

1746] and money. Lord Reay's son, with some other officers, gathered what men they could together, attacked those that had landed from the *Hazard* sloop, and after killing five of them, took the rest prisoners and seized the money, said to be 12,500 guineas; but one chest of it was amissing, and another broke. Lord Reay and his friends being apprehensive of a visit from the rebels, embarked with the treasure[1] and prisoners, and arrived on Sunday night at Aberdeen with the *Hazard* sloop; and in passing the Orkneys Captain O'Brien brought the *Boston* ship that was treacherously seized by Captain Sinclair for the rebels."

To the impoverished troops of the Prince, who lacked the bare necessaries of life on the eve of fateful battle, the loss of this money must have been a terrible blow. Had this gold come into their possession, Cumberland would have met on Culloden Moor a well-fed instead of a starving Highland army, and the issue of the conflict would probably have been different.

A few days before Culloden, Cromartie got orders to rejoin the Prince at Inverness with all his forces, but as he was marching towards the Little Ferry Ensign John Mackay with a handful of men intrepidly attacked him. Mackay's boldness encouraged others of the Sutherland militia, who were in the hills near at hand, to take part in the affray, with the result that Cromartie was defeated and all his troops were either killed or captured. Mackay pistol in hand forced his way into Dunrobin Castle, into which Cromartie fled, and notwithstanding the efforts of the Countess of Sutherland, who was suspected of favouring the rebels and especially Cromartie, made a prisoner of the earl whom he found hiding under a bed.

These two affairs, in which the Mackays played such an important part, the one at Tongue and the other at the Little Ferry, had more to do with the overthrow at Culloden than is generally realized. By the former the money supplies of the Prince were cut off, and by the latter much needed help in men was intercepted. The victor of the Little Ferry was Ensign John Mackay of Mudale, whose genealogy

1. It is locally believed that some of the gold was thrown by the disconfited Frenchmen into Loch Hakon before they surrendered, and undoubtedly pieces of French gold have been found from time to time along its shore, but we do not think that much of the treasure was lost in that way. The reader should also consult the traditional account of this affair [illegible] in *The History of the Clan Mackay*.

we give in our account of the Aberach Mackays. It must have been Mudale, for he was the only Mackay of the name of John who held the rank of Ensign during the '45, as the *Reay Papers* and *Registers of Deeds* show.

As has already been observed, Lord Reay proceeded to Leith on board the frigate *Sheerness*, and seems to have remained in the south until the following autumn. His letter of 2nd September, 1746, to a Government official anent the settlement of the Highlands after Culloden, is characteristic of the man. After suggesting various remedial measures, he urges upon the authorities the necessity of erecting new churches and of spreading the Gospel among the disaffected, for the efficacy of these civilizing means, he says, he proved in his own country. The well known couplet in Wyntoun's *Chronicle*,

APPENDIX No. 55.

> "He illumynd in his dayis
> The landys with kyrkis,"

may with good reason be applied to his Lordship, for he devoted the last thirty years of his life to the fostering of religion and education, as the Records of Tongue Presbytery amply prove. And to this day his memory is revered among the people as Am Morair Mor, the great lord. A cultured gentleman and a Fellow of the Royal Society, Lord Reay died at Tongue on the 21st March, 1748, and was laid to rest in the family vault within the church there. He was thrice married. His first wife was Margaret (contract dated at Bomelt, Holland, December, 1702), daughter of General Hugh Mackay of Scoury, by whom he had one son:—

i. Donald, 4th Lord Reay, of whom an account follows.

His second wife was Janet, daughter of John Sinclair of Ulbster, Caithness, who bore him a son and a daughter:—

ii. Hugh Mackay of Bighouse, Lieutenant-Colonel of the first Sutherland regiment, married (contract 15 July, 1728) Elizabeth,

eldest daughter and co-heiress of George Mackay of Bighouse, and had sasine of the estate of Bighouse or Strathhalladale, 28th February, 1742. In our account of the Bighouse Mackays we give further particulars.

iii. Ann, who died 24th November, 1780, married John Watson of Muirehouse, Edinburghshire, contract dated 7th September, 1725. Their issue was two sons and a daughter:—

1. Robert Watson of Muirehouse, Lieutenant Colonel of the 25th Foot, with whom he served in Germany. He became Deputy Quarter Master-General of the Forces in North Britain, 1758; Aide-de-Camp to the king, 1768; and died a Lieutenant-General at Aberdeen, 10th May, 1791.
2. George Watson, Captain in the Royal Navy, died unmarried in 1771.
3. Janet Watson, married (4th April, 1750) Alexander Rocheid of Inverleith, Edinburgh, and of Darnchester in Berwick. They had three children:—James Rocheid of Inverleith, died 1823; John Rocheid, an officer in the Scots Greys, died unmarried in 1779; and Mary Rocheid, died unmarried, 1776.

Lord Reay married, thirdly, Mary (contract 28th March, 1718), daughter of John Dowell, W.S., Edinburgh, and by her had two sons and four daughters:—

iv. George Mackay, an advocate, who inherited Skibo[1] from his maternal uncle, Patrick Doull of Winterfield—Doull had sasine of Skibo, 28th September, 1744. Mackay took an active part in putting down the rebellion of the '45, was elected M.P. for the county of Sut'erland in 1747, and again in 1754. He was appointed Master of the Mint for Scotland, 2nd August, 1756, and eventually disposed of Skibo. He married Ann (13th September, 1766), daughter of Eric Sutherland, eldest son of the attainted Lord Duffus, and by her had five sons and four daughters:— Bor. MS.

1. George, died in the East Indies, 1790.
2. Eric, 7th Lord Reay, of whom afterwards.
3. Alexander, 8th Lord Reay, of whom afterwards.

1. Skibo, which was Church property before and after the Reform [illegible] the possession of a family of Grays. During the first half of the 18th century [illegible] financial difficulties, and the estate passed from hand to hand under [illegible] Dowell bought it in 1744, but it does not appear that he cleared away the encumbrances [illegible] the estate came to Mackay heavily burdened, and continued in [illegible] retained it.

4. Donald, Captain of the Royal Navy in 1806, appointed to the *Malluccu* frigate on the East India station in 1814, and reappointed in 1831 to the *Revenge* of 78 guns. In January, 1848, he was appointed Admiral on the Irish station, and in 1849 became vice-Admiral of the Blue. He married in 1848, Ellen Martha, only child of William Twinning of the Bengal Medical Service, and died at London without issue, 26th March, 1850.
5. Patrick, died in infancy.
6. Elizabeth, died at Edinburgh unmarried, 10th April, 1788.
7. Mary, died unmarried at Bath, 24th November, 1843.
8. Harriet, died in infancy.
9. Anne, died at Bath unmarried in September, 1849.

v. Alexander Mackay, had an Ensign's commission in the 25th Foot in 1737, raised an independent company for Loudon's regiment in 1745, and was taken prisoner at Prestonpans. He became Major of the 3rd Foot in 1750, and Colonel of the 52nd Foot in 1755. He became M.P. for Sutherland in 1761, but some time thereafter went to America with his regiment and rose to the rank of Major-General. He was elected M.P. for the Northern Burghs in 1773, and appointed Governor of Tynemouth Fort in 1772. In 1780 he became Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Scotland, and Governor of Stirling Castle in 1788. He married in 1770, Margaret, daughter of Sir William Carr of Etal, Bart., and died without issue, 31st May, 1789.

Blk. Ms.

vi. Mary Mackay, died at Edinburgh unmarried in 1780.

vii. Harriet Mackay, died unmarried at Restalrig, 5th November, 1766.

viii. Christian Mackay, married (contract 25th June, 1746) the Rev. John Erskine, D.D., a noted minister of Edinburgh, and son of John Erskine of Carnoch, author of *The Institutes of the Law of Scotland.* There was issue of this marriage.

ix. Marion Mackay, died unmarried at Edinburgh in 1812.

XVIII. Donald, 4th Lord Reay.

1748-61.

THE fourth Lord Reay finished off a liberal education at home by travel on the Continent and some [illegible] with maternal relatives in Holland, after 1723. At this period there were two Mackay families domiciled in Holland, to both of which the young Master of Reay was closely related, viz., that of the deceased General Hugh of Scoury, and that of the deceased General the Hon. Aeneas, progenitor of the Dutch Mackays. Besides these, other representatives of various Strathnaver families were officers in the Dutch army, and as they generally secured commissions by raising a certain number of recruits, it is safe to conclude that there was at this time a little colony of Mackays in Holland.

We drew attention in an earlier memoir to the close connection existing between Strathnaver and Holland, a state of matters which continued till well on into the second half of the 18th century. In the Records of the Presbytery of Tongue we often come across entries in which it is stated that fugitives from Church discipline, chiefly for breaches of the seventh commandment, are serving abroad in Flanders. And the ministers of the Presbytery are on such intimate terms with the chaplains of the regiments in which the delinquents are serving, that the said chaplains are duly informed of the charges laid against the martial swains. It appears from the *Scots Brigade in Holland* that these Scots regiments had regularly organised sessions, drawn up on the model of a Scots Presbyterian congregation,

and that they cherished some of the home prejudices with true *perferridum ingenium Scotorum.*

In one of the Scots regiments the chaplain resolved to drop "taking out the line" at the singing, but Colonel Gordon objected and sent peremptory orders to continue the old-fashioned way of singing. The chaplain replies:

SCOTS BRIGADE IN HOLLAND, III. 28.

"That the new way of singing the Psalms hath been earnestly recommended these many years past by the General Assembly, and is now practised by the greatest part of the congregations in Scotland, and indeed in all Protestant churches. We did not imagine that you would have disapproved of our proceedings, and hope that upon this representation, after seriously considering the matter, you will see no reason to do so; and it will give us great pleasure to be informed that you are satisfied with our conduct, tho' as a session we conceived that we are only accountable to a superior Church Court."

After prolonged bickering over this matter, the difficulty was overcome by transferring the innovating chaplain into another regiment, but the custom of "taking out the line" continues to be cherished in some parts of Strathnaver to this day.

In the last memoir we described the plantation of churches and the erection of the Presbytery of Tongue: we shall now endeavour to indicate the consequent moral development of the people, and the means used to this end, as these are recorded in the Records of Presbytery—parish records are for the most part non-existent. At the first meeting of Presbytery, 5th October, 1726, a minute of Assembly was engrossed in the Record, from which it appears that the parishes of Farr, Tongue, Durness, and Ederachilis, disjoined from the Presbytery of Caithness, and the parishes of Kildonan and Assint disjoined from the Presbytery of Dornoch, form the newly erected Presbytery. Kildonan, however, never seems to have been really united to Tongue, and in a few years Assint reverted to Dornoch, so that the Presbytery of Tongue became co-extensive with the country of Strathnaver eventually.

At this first meeting of Presbytery, letters were read from the

TABLE B.

Key Pedigree: The Mackays of Strathnaver, now Barons Reay.

XIV.

Barbara, dau. of Lord Kintail. (1st wife).

Donald Dughall, 1st Ld. Reay, d. 1649 (See p. 67).

Elizabeth Lennson (2nd wife).

Margaret Sinclair. (3rd wife).

XV. Iye.

Isabella Sinclair. (1st wife).

John, 2nd Ld. Reay; d. 1680.

Barbara Mackay. (2nd wife).

Angus.

Jean.

Anne.

Charles.

Rupert.

Margaret.

Mary.

Aliquo MELNESS MACKAYS. (See Table G).

Aliquo SANDWOOD MACKAYS. (See Table H).

XVI. Robert.

Jane.

Ann, dau. of Sir G. Munro of Culrain.

Donald, Master of Reay; d. 1680.

Angus.

Robert, Colonel.

Jean.

Anne.

Sophia.

Aliquo DUTCH MACKAYS. (See Table D).

XVII. *Margaret*, dau. of General Mackay. (1st wife).

George, 3rd Ld. Reay; d. 1748.

Janet Sinclair. (2nd wife).

Mary Doull (3rd wife).

XVIII. *Marion* Dalrymple. (1st wife).

Donald, 4th Ld. Reay; d. 1761.

Christian Sutherland. (2nd wife.)

Hugh.

Anne.

George, m. *Ann* Sutherland.

Alexr.

Mary.

Harriet.

Christian.

Marion.

XIX. George, 5th Ld. Reay; no issue by 1st wife; d. 1768.

Elizabeth Fairley. (2nd wife).

Hugh, 6th Ld. Reay; d. 1797, s.p.

Margaret.

Mary.

George d. s.p.

Eric, 7th Ld. Reay; d. 1817, s.p.

Alexr., 8th Ld. Reay; m. *Marion* Gall; d. 1863.

Donald.

Patrick.

Elizabeth.

Mary.

Harriet.

Anne.

XX. *Jane*.

Marianne.

Georgiana.

George.

Eric, 9th Ld. Reay; d. 1875, s.p.

Anne, m. Mr. Aylmer.

Mary.

Clara.

Elizabeth.

Charlotte.

On his death the title passed to the DUTCH MACKAYS.

Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge and from "the Committee for the Reformation of the Highlands, containing directions relative to missionaries employed upon the king's bounty." The former society was wholly religious, but the latter committee was semi-political and made it its business to foster Presbyterianism, with a view to engender loyalty to the house of Hanover. All those employed by this committee must be sound Hanoverians. On account of the "clamant state" of Assint, "wholly destitute of any means of instruction," a letter was addressed by the Presbytery to the "Committee for the Reformation of the Highlands," craving the services of an itinerant preacher for the said parish. A little later, we read that "Lady Assint" and her friends are Papistical and Jacobite. As for Durness,

> "The Presbytery finding that the parish of Durness is divided by a Kyle, so that there must be another preaching place besides the kirk, appoint that when my Lord Reay or his eldest son lives at Durness, the minister preach four Sabbaths in the kirk and the fifth at Westmoin;" but when none of the Reay family are in residence at Durness, only three at the kirk and the fourth at Westmoin. "And they further recommend him to have one discourse in English, at least each Sabbath, at Durness."

On the 4th January, 1727, the Presbytery acknowledge receipt of "48 copies of the Confession of Faith in Irish," from the "Committee for the Reformation of the Highlands," for use within their bounds. Not long after this, they receive from the same quarter some copies of the Shorter Catechism in the same language. While both the Church and the Reformation Committee were busily scattering Catechisms and Confessions of Faith throughout the Highlands, there is not a word about the Gaelic Bible. It was not until 1767 that the New Testament was translated into Scottish Gaelic, and we must come down to 1807 before the Old and New Testaments make their appearance in a language well understood by the Highland people. To us, this zeal for Catechisms and neglect of Bibles looks like putting the cart before the horse.

On the 26th April, 1727, it is reported that the catechists in the

1729-30] various parishes were as follows:—Hugh Munro, Edderachilis; Aeneas Mackay, Durness; Donald Happy *alias* Sutherland, Tongue; and William Mackay, Farr. And at this same time there are but three ruling elders in the whole Presbytery, to wit, Lord Reay, John Mackay of Kirtomy, and William Mackay in Gnubeg. On the 10th April, 1729, the catechists report that 200 in the parish of Farr, 300 in the parish of Tongue, 250 in the parish of Durness, and 27 in Assint can repeat the whole of the questions in the Shorter Catechism, and that many more can repeat a part. At the next meeting, the Farr catechist reports that in the upper part of his parish 250 can repeat the whole of the Catechism, "besides 140 pretty far advanced."

Mr. Scobie, minister of Assint, found the work very uphill in his parish, and is sometimes interrupted while preaching, especially by a "Murdo Mackenzie *alias* Dow." The case is referred for advice to the Procurator of the Kirk, who replies that by an Act of Parliament the delinquent is liable to the escheat of all his moveable goods, as well as to the highest censure of the Church. The case is then reported to Lord Reay, "sheriff of that part of the shire." Murdo Dow, evidently, had no love for Presbytery, or for the house of Hanover either.

On the 19th August, 1730, the Court made enquiry regarding a library designed for the Presbytery seat, but which never reached its destination. The books were lying in the hands of the Presbytery of Caithness, to whom they were consigned by a society in the south before the Presbytery of Tongue was erected. Later on the books turn up, and from the catalogue which is engrossed in the Record they appear to be all of a theological character. Whether they were intended for general circulation is not said, but they were very suitable for such a purpose. They were deposited at the Presbytery seat, Tongue.

The clergy dealt very severely with breaches of the seventh commandment, and in glaring cases the delinquent had to make a

tour of all the churches of the Presbytery, standing in sackcloth before the congregations during Divine service. On the 12th October, 1731, we find this entry:—

"The Presbytery finding that William Maconil, an adulterer in the parish of Farr, did stand in sackcloth in the several parishes of this country according to appointment and that he is desirous to be dismissed from further public appearance; but, considering the heinousness of his crime, have appointed that he continue to stand before the several ministers who shall supply at Farr till next Presbytery."

Machormat, a Durness man charged with adultery, fares still worse. He is reported to be such a disreputable character, that he has been "for several other crimes threatened with banishment to the Plantations . . . . Machormat is an habitual sinner in this kind, having been a quadrelapse in fornication before Mr. Macdonald came to Durness." Eventually Machormat was excommunicated; and a dreadful sentence it was, for no one was permitted to have any dealings with such a person, so long as the sentence remained unrecalled. But as a rule the sentence was recalled in a few months.

For many years before and for some time after the erection of the Presbytery, the sacrament of the Lord's supper was very irregularly and at long intervals held throughout Strathnaver. For the first twenty-five years of the Presbytery's existence it was administered only once a year within the bounds, or in other words once every four years in each one of the four congregations which formed the Presbytery. This was due to the lack of elders and to the fewness of the communicants, but when the members increased the people were slow to alter what they came by that time to look upon as an old custom. At these yearly gatherings, to which the people of all the parishes congregated at the appointed centre, the Friday before the celebration of the sacrament was set apart for answering difficulties and for instructing catechumens; but in course of time these Friday disputations developed into such inter-parochial wranglings that the clergy endeavoured to abolish the institution. On the 14th

1737-41] September, 1737, an Act of Synod relative to the above is engrossed in the Record, and is to the following effect :—

"That because the communicants in our bounds are by the blessing of God become so numerous, that their meeting all in one parish to partake in the sacrament of the Lord's supper is attended with several inconveniencies . . . . . The Synod appoint that, at least in the Presbyteries of Caithness and Dornoch where assistance enough can be got, the foresaid ordinance shall be as often as may be administered in two parishes on the same Lord's day.

As also that because the meetings ordinarily kept on Friday before the administration of the sacrament is often inconvenient to the ministers . . . and that the main design of these meetings may be obtained without these inconveniences, by the people's communicating their cases of conscience to their ministers at home. Therefore that the Synod should appoint these meetings on Friday before the sacrament to be forbid for the future in all the bounds of this Synod, and appoint the ministers before they come from home in order to assist at yt ordinance to give the communicants of their respective parishes opportunity of consulting them, about such questions or cases relative to the ordinance as shall be suitable to them, but that these confidences be as private as can be, and this to be publicly intimated to the bounds."

The laity, however, so enjoyed the Friday freedom of speech that they did not forego this privilege even to please the ministers. With all its concomitant abuses, Friday's licence provided a necessary safety-valve for such as felt aggrieved, and is still an institution in Strathnaver. Neither did the congregations at this time agree to celebrate the Lord's supper oftener than they had been in the habit of doing.

In the spring of 1741, so great was the scarcity of food that the Presbytery appointed a special collection to be made in the churches for the relief of the starving poor. The immediately following harvest, however, was such an abundant one that they appointed a special day of thanksgiving to God, for "giving us a plentiful harvest after so remarkable a dearth."

At first the function of the catechist was simply to teach the Shorter Catechism, but in course of time when qualified men could be obtained the catechist became a schoolmaster as well. The salary of

the catechist-schoolmaster was partly provided by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, and partly by the congregation in which this functionary laboured—the amount given by the above society being about £6 stg. per annum. To the salary of the "Legal" or parish schoolmaster the heritors of the parish contributed 100 merks a year, and the balance was made up by fees; but the combined sum could not be very much.

Sometimes the catechists, overstepping their duties, publicly exhorted the people on questions of doctrine, for which in many cases they were not fitted owing to their lack of the necessary training. In these excursions, fanciful and unwarranted interpretations of Scripture were often given to the detriment of sound doctrine and morals. To meet this evil, on the 2nd March, 1749, the Presbytery resolved as follows:—

"The Presbytery being weel apprised that there are in the several parishes some who take upon themselves to read the Scriptures and other books in the Irish language to the people and to solve doubts and cares of conscience at such meetings, and that some of them are without the authority or allowance of the minister of the parish, and that it is to be feared that such as so officiate are not well qualified for it, and the Presbytery remembering a melancholy scene that happened several years ago in one of these unauthorised meetings at Halmadary, did and do hereby prohibit any to convene the people to reading or conferences except the advice and consent of the parish minister be obtained."

A striking fact brought out by the Presbytery Record is the large number of leading men throughout Strathnaver who became elders of the Kirk by this time. Of that number were John Mackay of Kirtomy, John Mackay of Mudale, the Hon. George Mackay of Strathmore and Skibo, the Hon. Alexander Mackay, John Mackay of Melness, Robert Mackay the tutor, etc. Taken along with other well known facts, it indicates the deep root that religion had cast into the country of Mackay about the middle of the 18th century.

By Donald Master of Reay's marriage contract with Marion Dalrymple, 23rd August, 1732, his father became bound to make

1732-41] resignation of the lands and estate, and to obtain new charters and infeftments of the same in favour of himself in liferent, and to the said Master and his heirs male and of tailie in fee, whom failing to others mentioned. As this arrangement was duly and legally carried out, the estate became entailed. But by a subsequent arrangement made on the Master's second marriage, 1st October, 1741, the estate was conveyed to the said Master and his heirs, whom failing to others mentioned, in fee simple and without any irritant clauses. This double arrangement, which was only intended to be temporary, put the inheritance into an anomalous position, as we shall see afterwards. REAY PAPERS

By the second arrangement above mentioned, Donald the Master permitted his father, the third Lord Reay, to put the estate under trustees, in order to make provision for his large family, and this arrangement to continue until the specified bardens were removed or paid off. In consequence of this, when Donald succeeded as Lord Reay he found himself practically a portioner with but a divided control over the heritable property, and the estate (that portion of it not wadsetted) held in tack by his half brother, the Hon. Hugh Mackay of Bighouse. It continued thus until Donald, 4th Lord Reay, died.

George, 5th Lord Reay, who kicked against this arrangement when he came of age, describes his father as "an easy facile man, and altogether ignorant of business." Mrs Fullarton, grand daughter of the 4th Lord Reay, describes her grandfather as one,

"Who tho' possessing a good plain understanding, graced with all the accomplishments of a gentleman, derived from liberal education and foreign travel, was yet totally unacquainted with the business of ordinary life; and being, from an openness of disposition, perfectly artless and unsuspecting." PAPERS.

The above description of Lord Donald is in perfect accord with the picture drawn by Rob Donn,[1] a Strathnaver contemporary poet, in an elegy to his Lordship. The poet says that his Lordship cared far

1. See addendum to this memoir

more "for the image of God on a good man, than for the king's image on a piece of gold;" and describing the loss which the country sustained by his death, he proceeds:—

> "Ach cha deach' uiread de throcair
> A chuir fo'n fhoid ri mo linn,
> 'S a chaidh charadh 's an toma
> Le Morair Domhnull MacAoidh."
>
> Not so much of mercy was
> Gathered under the sod in my day,
> As was laid in the tomb
> Along with Lord Donald Mackay.

As during his father's lifetime, so thereafter and until his own death, Lord Donald continued to reside at Balnakeil House, Durness, leaving the Trust estate to the management of his half-brother, Mackay of Bighouse. In consequence of a threatened war with France and the generally disturbed state of Europe in 1759, the Earl of Sutherland raised a Highland regiment in which Mackay of Bighouse held the rank of Major. This regiment was largely recruited in Strathnaver, and did garrison duty at Inverness, Stirling, Perth, Dundee, etc. It saw no active service, and was disbanded in 1763.

His Lordship, who died at Durness, 18th August, 1761, and was buried in the family vault at Tongue, married, first (contract 23rd August, 1732), Marion, daughter of Sir Robert Dalrymple of Castleton, son of Sir Hugh Dalrymple of North Berwick (President of the Court of Session), and by her, who died in 1740, had issue two sons:—

i. George, 5th Lord Reay, of whom follows.

ii. Hugh, 6th Lord Reay, of whom afterwards.

He married, secondly, 21st December, 1741, Christian, daughter of James Sutherland of Pronsy, Sutherland, and by her, who died at Edinburgh in 1790, had issue two daughters:—

iii. Margaret, died unmarried, 18th January, 1762.

iv. Mary, married Thomas Edgar, Major in the 25th Foot, and Inspector-General of Barracks in Great Britain. He died 30th June, 1801, and she died 21st November, 1813.

REAY PAPERS.

ADDENDUM: ROB DONN, A STRATHNAVER POET.

Rob Donn was born of humble parents in Strathmore, parish of Durness, about 1714. At a very early age he entered the service of John Mackay of Mussel, a large cattle-dealer, and, for a time, factor for the third Lord Reay; in whose employment the young poet travelled about a good deal and gained a considerable experience of the world. Of books he knew nothing; he never learned to read. After a time he became under-forester, a position which afforded him congenial occupation roaming the mountains of the homeland, and holding close converse with the wild animals of the chase. Eventually he settled at Balnakeil House as bo-man or cattle man to the fourth Lord Reay, an office which did not prevent him from joining in the periodic hunting expeditions organised by the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, who found the company of the bard a *sine qua non.*

In 1759 he joined the regiment raised by the Earl of Sutherland, more as a regimental bard than as a fighting unit, and continued wearing the red coat until that body was disbanded in 1763. Thereafter he returned once more to Balnakeil House, and got employment from Colonel Hugh Mackay, son of John of Mussel, his

former patron and master. The poet died in 1778, and was buried at Durness.

From this brief account of his eventful life it will be seen that, though he never went to school in the ordinary sense of the term, he had varied opportunities of studying men and manners in the school of life and living, which is a higher education to a man of genius like Rob Donn. His genial, and brilliant biographer, Dr. Macintosh Mackay, tells us that "he lisped in numbers" almost from the cradle, and gives specimens of his infant compositions treasured in later years by an adoring public. As he grew in years and experience, he gave unto his Gaelic countrymen of the north songs sad, and gay, and dreamy, that went humming from lip to lip without the aid of printer or press. When a good man passed away, the poet felicitously voiced the sorrow of the community in an elegy, but when anything meriting public censure happened, or that tended to weaken the moral sense of the people, Rob Donn in language that flayed to the bone scourged the delinquent, whatever the rank of the person concerned. It wa such things that made him so beloved of the people.

There are pieces of Rob Donn's that put him in the front rank of eighteenth century poets, be they English or Gaelic. Take, for instance, his ode to the aged Ian MacEachun, now no longer able to go south to the markets as of yore. It is a splendid piece of imagery, the work of a master-hand. The ideas fly like sparks of fire from an anvil, and the t uch is as airy as a feather. Or for humour take *Macrory's Breeks*, or for razor-like sarcasm *Rob Gray*—the lashing of the latter is Byronic. Of course, it has to be remembered that the Strathnaver dialect, in which the poet composed, renders him less acceptable to the Gaelic speaking people of the south and west, but those who speak as he spoke know how to appreciate their peasant poet.

The songs of Rob Donn were first published in 1829 under the editorship of the Rev. Dr. Macintosh Mackay, editor-in-chief of the London Society *Gaelic Dictionary*, and afterwards Moderator of the

Free Church of Scotland, a man of high learning and character. The volume entitled "Songs and Poems in the Gaelic language by Robert Mackay." That same year a handsome monument inscribed "In memory of Rob Donn, otherwise Robert Mackay," was raised by public subscription within the church-yard of Durness, where his body lies. A second edition of his poems appeared in 1871.

But, like Homer, Rob Donn was too great a man not to be claimed by other people. In 1899 a third edition of his works appeared, edited by Mr. Hew Morrison, in which we are gravely told that the poet was not a Mackay at all, that the first editor from clannish sentiment stamped a lie on the face of his book, and that the admiring subscribers to the monument did likewise. These grave charges, flung forth with much reckless assurance, call for substantial proof. Where is it?

Mr Morrison permits himself to write:—"The name Mackay was first applied to Rob Donn on the title-page of his poems in 1829." That is emphatic enough, but it is emphatically the reverse of correct. Let us see. In 1816 there was issued a work on Ossian by the brothers Maccallum, in which they refer to our poet as "Robert Mackay, commonly called Rob Don:" and ten years earlier still, Dr. MacArthur writing on the Ossianic question also calls him a Mackay. About 1792 Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, writing on the parish of Thurso in the *First Statistical Account*, says "the celebrated Highland bard, Robert Donn *alias* Mackay." As one grand aunt of Sir John's was the wife of the third Lord Reay, and another the wife of John Mackay of Strathy, we may take it for granted that the learned baronet knew what he was talking about.

General Stewart of Garth quotes as follows from Munro's account of the casualties at the battle of Arnee, fought in 1782:—"I take this opportunity of commemorating the fall of John Donne Mackay, a corporal in Macleod's Highlanders, son to Robert Donne the bard, whose singular talent for the beautiful and extemporaneous composition of Gaelic poetry was held in such esteem." That is to

say, four years after the poet's death his son is designated Mackay. True, sometimes soldiers enlist under fictitious names to conceal identity, but in this case the soldier gloried in being his father's son, and the fact was patent to the whole regiment.

Again, in Sage's *Memorabilia Domestica* the following pregnant sentence occurs:—"The most distinguished of the Mackays of that age was Rob Donn the poet." He tells us that his own father, when a schoolmaster at Tongue, met the poet; and we know that the father, afterwards minister of Kildonan, was one of the first to commit some of Rob Donn's songs to MS. Sage, the author, became himself minister in Strathnaver about 1815, and being a genealogist to the tips of his fingers, was not likely to make a mistake in this matter. During his ministry at Achness he must have met scores of people, some of them intelligent tacksmen, who knew Rob Donn intimately. Is it probable, rather is it possible, that a man of Sage's well known genealogical tastes, and with such excellent opportunities, would make so stupid a blunder in the case of Rob Donn's surname? The unbiassed reader can supply the answer.

We shall now consider more closely the two arguments—they are practically one, for the one grew out of the other—by which Mr. Morrison maintains his thesis that Rob Donn was not a Mackay. The first is a letter, dated—mark you—1882, from the Rev. Eric Findlater of Lochearnhead, who was born in the Manse of Durness, stating that he heard old people say that the poet was a Calder, and that his own father held that opinion too. As we see nothing formidable in that argument, we toss it aside meantime. The next argument, and the only one, is Mr. Morrison's interpretation of certain entries in the parish records of Durness, in which *alias* abound. Here are some specimens:—

> "Isobel Donn, *alias* Mackay, *alias* Calder, *alias* Ekel."
> "Colin Calder, *alias* Donn, *alias* Ekel and Mackay."
> "Isobel Donn, *alias* nin Rob Dhuinn, *alias* Calder, *alias* Ekel."

Of the Ekel, Mr. Morrison can make nothing, but he is convinced

that the *alias* Calder in the above (he concludes that they are all the poet's children) makes Rob Donn's proper surname Calder. W interpret otherwise. On Strathmore, the poet's native place, there was a hamlet called Calder, close to Mussel, and somewhere in the neighbourhood there was another place called Ukal[1]; the former is mentioned in the Judicial Rental of 1739, and the latter in transactions between Lord Reay and Donald Mackay of Eriboll and Farr, son of the Hon. Charles of Sandwood, 1719. In these days it was quite common to *alias* members of a family by the colour of their hair, by their employment, or by the township in which they lived. A black Robert would be Rob *Du*, a brown Rob *Donn*, a shoemaker might be Rob *Greasich*, a cooper Rob *Cupar*, etc. So too with places. William Mackay of Achool, *e.g.*, was simply William *Achool*; an' in the Sutherlat . Lists of men capable of bearing arms in the '45 we meet with such names as William *Sidera*, John *Sidera*, Alexander *Dunin*, etc., which are to be simply understood as William and John of Sidera or Cyderhall, and Alexander of Dunan.

APPENDIX No. 64.

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In this connection it is pertinent to observe that the descendants, in the fourth generation, of people removed from the heights of Strathnaver 85 years ago, and now residing in Farr, are to this day called after the hamlet whence their evicted ancestors came. In the conversation of the people, the members of one Mackay family never get anything but *Kedsary*, of another *Dalcina*, and of another *Skail*. Now these colloquial surnames of well-known Mackays living to-day are on a par with the bewildering *Ekel-Calder-Donn-Mackay aliases* of the Durness register. Besides, such a simple and natural way of reading these *aliases* enables us to underst. how Munro in 1782, Sir John Sinclair about 1792, General Stewart, the Messrs Maccallum, and Dr. MacArthur early in 1800, and the Rev. Sage a little later have no hesitation one and all in calling the poet a Mackay. Mr., now Dr., Morrison may cherish the idea that he has

1. Probably Ukal, Ekel, Oikel, and the Norse Ekkial are various forms of the same word. The Norse *ekki* means sobbing, and *ekkill* a widower, so that the place-name may mean "a bare slope" or "the place of tears."

made a discovery in the Findlater letter of 1882: we think he has discovered a mare's nest.

That part of the Durness register of baptisms, in which these *aliases* strangely abound, was the work of the Rev. Mr. Thomson, who seems to have had a consuming mania for inserting such variations. In the registers of sasines, deeds, and testaments bearing upon the same part of the country, as well as in the Reay Papers and Rent Rolls, the record is practically normal, and nothing approaching in any way Mr. Thomson's method is there shown. Nay more, in our examination of the Presbytery Records and Reay Papers the surname Calder but seldom occurs, and it never appears at all until after the middle of the 18th century, when one or two of that name immigrated into Strathnaver. But that it was a bye-name at an earlier date is very probable.

In this connection we should remark that a fourth edition of the poet's work appeared in 1899, and that it contains an able and judicious chapter on the bard's surname by the Rev. Adam Gunn, U.F. minister of Durness, one of the joint-editors, utterly repudiating Mr. Morrison's novel contention.

XIX. 1. George, 5th Lord Reay.

1761-68.

SOME years before his father's death, George, as Master of Reay, took up residence in Tongue House, which had undergone considerable alterations in 1750 conformable to a provision in the will of the 3rd Lord Reay, who had left a sum of money for that purpose. To this house in due time the young Master brought his wife, a daughter of the Honl. Hugh Mackay of Bighouse, but she died after a little over a year of married life, leaving no issue.

In 1762 George, now Lord Reay, appointed Charles Gordon of Skelpick, a captain of the Sutherland regiment and an extensive cattle dealer, factor of his estate. Soon after this appointment his Lordship made an arrangement with Gordon, whereby the latter was to purchase year by year the surplus produce of the Reay estate. This arrangement is of some interest, because it gives us a glimpse of the economic conditions at the time. Rent then was paid in kind, rarely in money. The tenant paid in horses, cattle, sheep, hides, wool, cheese, butter, etc., and what his Lordship did not require for his own use he disposed of to Gordon. The hides, wool, cheese, and butter were shipped to the southern markets; the horses, cattle, and sheep were collected at certain appointed centres, and led in droves to the Kyle market, near Bonar, or it might be to the great market at Falkirk. To pursue the avocation of a drover was not beneath the dignity of a Highland gentleman of the period. In the early years of the century John Mackay of Mussel was the leading drover of Strathnaver, but in the course of time he took into partnership the Honl. Hugh Mackay of Bighouse, and now Captain Gordon takes up the rôle.

As for the tenants, those in the neighbourhood of the sea-shore were bound to collect a certain quantity of sea-ware and to burn it into kelp. They were paid for every ton of kelp which they produced, but the production of this article was part of their paction with the proprietor from which there was no escape. As kelp commanded a high price in the manufacturing towns of the south, it was a remunerative business for proprietor and tenant. Although the Government of the day encouraged the fishing industry in the north by the offer of a large bounty, we are not aware that the people of Strathnaver took advantage of that offer then, though they subsequently did. They were eminently a pastoral people, living on the produce of their flocks, and the surplus male population steadily set its face in one direction only, to wit, soldiering. For the usual handicraft trades they had no liking. This latter fact impressed us very much in our examination of the estate papers of Lord Reay. When a substantial house had to be built or repaired the tradesmen had to be brought up from Caithness to do the mason and joiner work, and all the time the young, able-bodied men of the district were flocking into the army. Socially and economically this was a very unhealthy state of matters indeed. To cultivate war and to neglect industry is certain to bring its own punishment, as we shall see in the wholesale evictions after the peace of 1815.

REAY PAPERS. The following items culled from the accounts of the period will give the reader some idea of the value of labour and the price of articles at that time:—

"To two men that carried two ankers from Clerkhill to Sidera - - - - -		12/	Scots.
"To James mac Rob with packet to Inverness		2/	do.
"To an express from Sidera to Tongue - -		1/	do.
"To 75 lbs. powder - - - - - -	£15		do.
"To 8 bolls meal - - - - - - -	£19	10	do.
"To 4 lbs. hopps - - - - - - -		6/8	stg.
"To ½ lb. Bohea tea - - - - - -		3/6	do.
"To 6 lbs. 10 oz. single refined sugar @ 16d -		8/10	do."

As tenants were bound to perform certain free services at this

time, and especially to carry letters or expresses, it is probable that the shilling Scot for a journey to Sidera and the two shillings for a journey to Inverness were merely to cover the travelling expense of the couriers. Anyway, the contrast between these figures and the price of meal is noteworthy. The average annual wage of a forester was £20 Scot, and that of Donald Macleod, Reay's piper, was £21 6 8; but the piper and foresters had other perquisites besides, in the shape of land and houses.

Under the fostering care of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge the number of schoolmasters was steadily increasing, as the Records of Presbytery show, and the tacksmen were manifesting a growing interest in education by starting local or side schools. Strange as it may appear to some, one means of supplementing the scanty salary of the schoolmasters was by the annual holding of a cock-fight, to which all the scholars each brought a bird. The defeated cocks became the property of the teacher, but the owners of the two best fighting birds were decked with ribbons, and on the following Sunday marched to church thus decorated at the head of a procession of school pupils. Now-a-days we raise money for deserving objects by bazaars and raffles, but in a fighting age, such as the middle of the 18th century was, the orthodox way of raising money was by a cock-fight. One hundred and fifty years hence, perhaps, the bazaar and raffle may appear as much out of place to our successors as the cock-fight does to us. Let us not rashly cast stones at our ancestors because they looked out upon life through their own coloured glasses.

As we hinted in the preceding memoir, the 5th Lord Reay was very much dissatisfied with the arrangement which his father and grandfather made in 1741. Though the 4th Lord Reay was content to let the estate lie in trust, with but limited control over it, his son was of a different mind. He claimed full control over the estate in virtue of his mother's marriage contract of 1732, and justly took up the position that as he was not consulted at the making of the later

arrangement, he would not be bound by it to the extent of losing his liberty under trustees. This caused some friction between him and other members of the family, especially between him and the Honl. George Mackay of Skibo, who, being a lawyer, held the family papers, and sought to keep them out of the hands of his Lordship. The result was a litigation, in which his Lordship recovered the family papers, one box of which contained estate papers and another private family letters, etc.

REAY PAPERS.

On the 28th Nov., 1767, Reay obtained a decreet proving the tenor of his mother's marriage contract, by which he inherited the estate in entail, and duly had the said contract registered. On the 14th January, 1768, he took steps to make up his title to the estate on this contract by a general service as heir male and of provision to his father, but before the instrument could be taken out in his person he died on the 27th February of that year at the early age of 54, and leaving no male issue the matter went no further. If in the providence of God he had been spared a few days longer the estate would have become an entailed one, and his cousin Eric could not have sold it at a later date. But as it fell out, Eric was enabl[illegible] serve himself heir under the arrangement of 1741, which brought the estate into his hands in fee simple, and empowered him to dispose of it as he thought fit. Little did the 3rd Lord Reay realise the disastrous consequences of the arrangement of 1741, which he intended to be of a temporary character only.

George, 5th Lord Reay, a man of masculine character and strong mental power, died at Edinburgh as aforesaid, and was buried in the chapel of Holyrood, where an altar-shaped tomb marks his resting place. He married, first, Marion, daughter of the Honl. Hugh Mackay of Bighouse (contract 30th September, 1757), but by her, who died 12th March, 1759, had no issue. He married, secondly (contract 1st October, 1760), Elizabeth, daughter of John Fairley of that Ilk, in Ayrshire, and by her, who died 10th November, 1800, had one son, who died in infancy, and three daughters:—

i. Jane, died at Edinburgh, unmarried, 13th February, 1773.

ii. Marianne, married William Fullarton in Ayrshire, Colonel of the 101st Foot, and M.P. for that county. He was appointed Governor of Trinadad, 29th June, 1802, and died at London, 13th February, 1808, leaving no issue. Having no family to succeed, he sold the greater part of his landed estate in Ayrshire to the Marquis of Tichfield in 1805 for the sum of £75,500 stg. His widow died near Melrose, 28th March, 1878.

iii. Georgina, died unmarried at Bathampton, Somersetshire, 2nd August, 1847.

XIX. 2. Hugh, 6th Lord Reay.

1768-97

As the 5th Lord Reay died without issue, Hugh, his only brother, succeeded to the estate and to the title. In early boyhood Hugh was a bright, sharp fellow, foremost in youthful sports, and very fond of music, which latter he cultivated in the Manse of Durness, where he was boarded under the tuition of the Revd. Murdo Macdonald. He afterwards went to reside with maternal relatives at North Berwick, and there studied for two more years. About that time he came by an accident, hurting the head and brain so seriously that he eventually became fatuous.

In consequence of this misfortune, which rendered Lord Hugh incapable of managing his own affairs, his three uncles were appointed curators, viz., Hugh of Bighouse, George of Skibo, and General Alexander. The curators entrusted his Lordship to the care of a worthy gentleman, James Mackay, tacksman of Skerray, in whose house he lived all the rest of his life. The curators also appointed one of their number, George Mackay of Skibo, factor for the estate, with liberty to reside at Tongue House. When Skibo died in 1782, he was succeeded in the factorship by General Alexander Mackay, who continued to discharge this duty until 1789, and from the later date until 1797 Lieut.-Col. George Mackay of Handa, afterwards of Bighouse, acted as factor.

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On the death of the Hon. Hugh Mackay of Bighouse, heir presumptive of Lord Hugh, in 1770, the succession devolved upon

1776-8] Skibo and his heirs male, so that from that date Skibo became to all practical purposes proprietor of the Reay estate. Skibo had two hobbies: politics and commercial speculation. In the former he had some success, in the latter he had very little. Owing to severe losses in speculative transactions, he had to part with the estate of Skibo, which he inherited from his maternal uncle, Patrick Doull, and which was heavily encumbered at the time.

In the *MS. Journal* of John Macdonald, a native of Argyleshire, who came as a teacher to Skerray, near Tongue, in the summer of 1776, we read as follows:

"I was very genteely received by Mr. and Mrs. Mackay of Skerray and by their daughter Anne, who was a widow, having been but a short time married to Mr. Mackay of Melness, and lived in her father's house since his death. This lady, I may venture to say, was as well accomplished as any that ever I was acquainted with . . . The kindness and civility I met with in this family is beyond my expression, in short, I was offered to live in the family, and you may think that a stranger, as I then was, would be glad of the offer. This gentleman had two promising boys, his grandchildren, both fatherless and motherless. . . . . These two boys I had under my tuition both at school and at home, and being extraordinarily liked in the family I was introduced to the best company in the country. This part of Sutherland-shire is inhabited by the Mackays, a clan remarkable for their loyalty and their hospitality to strangers, which I experienced very much."

Here Macdonald lived for two years "very happy, and might live so all my life only for my rambling inclination." The recruiting sergeant was abroad, and Macdonald, like many another in that countryside, embarked upon an adventurous military career. But we shall let him tell his own story in his own words:—

"About this time (1778) His Grace the Duke of Gordon had got a commission to raise a Highland regiment, which was to be called the North Fencibles, and Mr. Mackay of Bighouse having a Captain's commission in that regiment, I was determined to go with him, let the consequence be what it would. . . . . So on the 4th June, 1778, I enlisted with Captain Mackay as pipe major, and to have a shilling a day. We staid in the country recruiting till September, and then our party, consisting of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, five sergeants, five

corporals, and one hundred and three privates, marched from their different rendevouzes, and all joined at the Meikle Ferry."

Thence they marched by stages to Elgin, where the regiment was embodied and quartered for some time, but in November they proceeded to Fort George.

"We marched to Fort George in three divisions, and being all arrived took up our quarters there for the winter. Everything was reasonable in Fort George that year, so that we might have made a very comfortable living of it . . . . but what through indolence and excess of drinking a great many of them fell sick, and some died."

The chatty piper and quondam teacher, disliking the idleness of garrison duty, got transferred into Lord Macleod's Highlanders, and had the fortune to take part in the memorable defence of Gibralter under General Elliot, and to serve for a time as the body servant of that officer.[1] The military excitement which sent Macdonald piping away to the wars was felt in every hamlet of Strathnaver. Besides the company under Bighouse serving in the Gordons, another under his brother joined Lord Macleod's Highlanders, another joined Fraser's Highlanders, and two companies joined the Sutherland Highlanders, making a total of five companies raised in Strathnaver at that time. The gallantry of the Frasers in America and of the Macleods in India is so well known to readers of General Stewart of Garth that we need not enlarge on the matter here.

In 1782 General the Hon. Alexander Mackay, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland, a man of l[illegible] governing experience both at home and abroad, became comm[illegible]ner or administering factor for the Reay estate, and with great humanity devoted himself to the improvement of the lot of the smaller tenantry. All over the Highlands at that time many of the smaller holders were sub-tenants

1. Macdonald gives a graphic account of the prolonged defence of Gibralter, and of his own adventurous career in India and China. In 1794 he returned to London, and hearing that his old officer, Mackay of Bighouse, was there making arrangements for the raising of the Reay Fencibles, joined that regiment and served with it for some time in Ireland. After eighteen years of fighting and wandering, he returned again to the parish of Tongue and once more took up the role of dominie among the Mackays. His curious and most interesting Journal, extending to about 120 pages of closely written MSS., is well worthy of publication.

1782-9] of the larger tacksmen, bound not only to pay rent but to render certain services, often oppressive, and subject to capricious eviction at the hands of what was practically their masters. The sub tenant had to do spring and harvest work for the tacksman, to cut and lead his peats, to go with letters long distances, and to take charge of some of his wintering cattle. The sub-tenant was often not at liberty to dispose of his own cattle in the open market, but had to sell to the dealer prescribed by the tacksman. This vicious system, which enabled selfish men to grind the faces of the poor with impunity, General Mackay set himself to root up with a determination which does him infinite credit. We quote from the tack of Duartmore, in 1787, to David Nicol :— REAY PAPERS.

"It is further agreed that the said David Nicol is hereby restricted from charging his sub-tenants with any more rent than he pays to Lord Reay in proportion to what the sub tenant possesses, with the addition of 5/ upon the sub-tenant's whole rent for the foresaid David Nicol's trouble and risk. *This clause never to be forgot by David Nicol.*"

The clause which we print in italics appears underlined in the original document, and a similar clause finds a place in every lease granted by General Mackay. That there was need for such a clause is very evident, for the rent of Tongue farm in 1789 was £30, while the converted services of the sub-tenants on the farm were valued at the same figure, so that the tacksman had the place practically free. No doubt other places were similarly circumstanced. In a letter, 20th March, 1788, to a tacksman who was getting a renewal of his lease, the general writes :— APPENDIX No. 57. REAY PAPERS.

"I am certain that no people can thrive till they are perfectly free and masters of their own time. But there is still one material point which I want to put on a clear footing, which is that tacksmen shall not have the power of treating their sub tenants in a worse manner than the rest of the tenants on the estate are. This, I am sure, you and every honest man must approve, as it is following the golden rule of doing as you would be done by. I wish particularly that every sub tenant should have the same liberty, as every man ought to have, of selling his cattle to whom he pleases, and likewise that they should not be obliged to winter

cattle for the taxman any more than tenants are for the proprietor, and they should not be subject to carry burdens or to go from home on the taxman's business, but with their own free will and paid for their trouble, as these customs are all oppressive."

In another letter to the same tacksman, 7th May, 1788, the general unburdens his mind still further on the subject of sub-tenants and the services which were demanded of them:—

"Let me ask one question. Why should not the man who pays one, two, or three pounds be as free as the man who pays fifty? By your clause there is no option left to the sub tenant, but he must do what the taxman desires, only that he is to be fed, and he must both carry burdens or carry letters if he is suitably paid [this was a suggestion of the tacksman writing], but not the liberty of refusing to go should it be inconvenient for him or his family. In short, as I said, I much rather have no clause at all in the Tack on the matter than put my hand to such a clause as yours, though at the same time I own that what you state is treating the sub-tenants better than they have been used with. But this is a subject altogether beyond the reach of a letter, and such is the force of habit and custom that though every taxman sees and feels the inconveniency of services so far as regards himself, yet he cannot see his sub-tenants in the same light.

"Where services must be paid they ought to be stipulated to guard against imposition, and accordingly I fix for the parish of Kintail half peats, that is to say, half what was usually paid. Every other thing whatever, harvest and spring work, carrying burdens, and going with letters, I totally abolish. When such are wanted, a man must be found who is willing to go for a certain hire according as he agrees. But it is a difficult matter to alter the customs of a country which has been so long upon a barbarous and cruel footing. . . . . With regard to David Nicol, I have no objection to grant him a Tack of what he possesses himself, but I will never put it in his power, or any such men, to turn out or put in sub-tenants at his pleasure."

To obviate the necessity of sub-tenants going long distances as couriers carrying the tacksmen's letters, the general approached the postal authorities in London for a regular postal service throughout the estate. This appears from the following paragraph in a letter of his:—

"I have applied to the Post Office, and have every reason to believe that an allowance will be made for a post from Tongue to Thurso and

LIEUT.-GENERAL THE HON. ALEXR MACKAY.

FROM A PORTRAIT IN THE POSSESSION OF LORD REAY

1782-9] from Tongue to Durness by Eriboll, which may in a great measure answer all the country; and perhaps some small allowance for a post once a week from Edderachilis to Eriboll. But as these regulations will take time, as they m. be sent to London and get the sanction of the Postmaster-General there, for nothing can be done here [Edinburgh], I am endeavouring all in my power to do everything to make the inhabitants of the country free and comfortable. If the taxmen will second my endeavours I have no doubt of succeeding, as all I desire is to treat your sub-tenants as you wish to be treated yourselves."

Besides striving in this way to elevate his countrymen, the general encouraged the fishing industry by starting a Fishing Company and taking a large share in it himself; and as the general had a large private income and no family dependent, he did this purely to help the people out of the goodness of his heart. The leading members of this Fishing Syndicate were the Messrs Arbuthnot of Peterhead and Mr. Anderson of Rispond. They built a pier and storehouses at Rispond, a boatslip and stores in Edderachilis, and had a vessel trading regularly between Aberdeen and Loch Eriboll. This industry, including kelp, was for a time most successful, and brought a considerable amount of money into the country.

The general also took a great deal of interest in the ecclesiastical and educational machinery of the country. As an elder of the Kirk he represented the Presbytery of Tongue for some years at the General Assembly of the Church, and advocated the crying need of Strathnaver for more teachers and itinerant preachers with a great measure of success; while in a year of threatened famine he was instrumental in bringing corn from abroad to supply the starving tenants. Of this latter fact the Presbytery take notice in a minute, 26th November, 1783, as follows:—

"The Presbytery taking it to their serious consideration how seasonably this country has been supplied with victuals from abroad, when the scarcity which prevailed among themselves was of a most alarming nature, and threatened most awful consequences, have appointed a thanksgiving day in their bounds on the 25th December for this merciful interposition of Providence."

Altogether, General Mackay was a splendid specimen of a cultured humane gentleman, and like his father, the 3rd Lord Reay, intensely interested in the moral and material welfare of his beloved countrymen of Strathnaver. The pity is that he ruled only seven short years!

The memorable French Revolution, so fraught with evil and with good, broke out in 1789, sending a flutter of anxious concern through every Cabinet in Europe. The successful Gallic revolutionists encouraged, by example and by sympathy, people with grievances everywhere to rise and do likewise. In Britain there were two danger spots; discontented Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland. In the former the danger was real enough, but in the latter it existed only in the apprehension of a Government who had not yet forgotten the rising of the '45. The southern Highlands were opened up by the military roads of General Wade during the early years of the century, but the northern Highlands still lacked these necessary arteries of communication. It was in these threatening circumstances that Mr. Brown surveyed roads for the northern counties, 1790-99, under the advice and direction of the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in North Britain.

APPENDIX No. 58.

In 1792 war broke out between Britain and France, and soon the two nations were in deadly grips. The call to arms resounded through the land, and nowhere was the call more heartily responded to than among the mountains of the north, where clans formerly divided now presented a loyal and united front to the common foe. Caithness raised her regiment, and so did Sutherland, and so did Strathnaver also. With the history of the former two regiments we have little to do here, although in both of them there were many Mackays. Our business is with the Strathnaver men and their regiment of Reay Fencibles, for which a Letter of Service was obtained on the 24th October, 1794. We shall now quote from the *MS. Journal* of Macdonald, the Skerray teacher:—

"At that very time Col. Bailie of Roschall, and Lieut.-Col. Mackay of

1794-7] Bighouse were in London waiting for a Letter of Service to raise a regiment of Fencibles, which was obtained on the 24th October, 1794; and on the 27th I enlisted with Lieut.-Col. Mackay as pipe major of that regiment., which was afterwards called the Reay Fencibles.

"I staid in London with Lieut. Col. Mackay till the 12th November, and then came with himself to Edinburgh, and was left there with Lieut. Munro and Lieut. Hunter of the same regiment, who were then recruiting for it in Edinburgh and the country round. I continued on the recruiting service till the 14th April, 1795, and the recruiting parties belonging to the Reay Fencibles were called in to Elgin, in Morayshire, which was our headquarters.

"The regiment was embodied at Elgin on the 17th June, 1795, and receiving arms and clothing we marched in two divisions to Fort George about the middle of July, where we remained until the beginning of October, and were then ordered to Ireland. Having left Fort George we marched to Port Patrick, and were safely landed at Donaghadee on the 3rd November, and on the 5th arrived at Belfast, and were inspected there by General Nugent . . . . . The regiment began to do duty then, and continued so to do till the 24th April, 1796, when there was an order for reducing all Fencible regiments then in Ireland to 500. In consequence of this reducement I was one of those discharged, on account of my lameness [received at Gibralter]."

This regiment was known as Lord Reay's Highlanders, otherwise the Reay Fencibles, and was commanded by Col. Hugh Mackay Baillie, an officer of much experience, grandson of Col. the Hon. Hugh Mackay of Bighouse. The second in command was Lieut. Col. George Mackay of Bighouse, also an officer of experience, and the vast majority of its officers and men were recruited in the country of Strathnaver. In the following memoir we shall have more to say of General Lake's "honest Reays."

Ever since the time of the 3rd Lord Reay the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, by its teachers especially, had been doing admirable work in the country of Strathnaver, and in no other part of the Highlands did the people make more progress intellectually and morally. The following extract from the report[1] (1796) of Dr. John Kemp, Edinburgh, secretary for the S.P.C.K.,

1. The Reports of the S.P.C.K. are most interesting, and the future historian of the Highlands must devote a considerable amount of attention to them.

regarding the work of the Society in that country, speaks for itself:—

"A more active, vigorous, spirited people are nowhere to be found, nor to strangers more hospitable and obliging. In their general turn of mind they are sober and religious; their manners are orderly and decent; their thirst after knowledge is great, and ever since the Revolution their loyalty to the family on the throne has even in the worst of times been unshaken. Among such people it is not to be doubted that the Society's teachers are received with avidity and gratitude and their schools well attended. The secretary was happy to find the schoolmasters in general men of respectable talent and attention to their duty; nor did he find in any part of the Highlands young people who discovered a quicker genius for learning."

Hugh, 6th Lord Reay, died at Skerray, unmarried, 26th January, 1797, and was buried in the family vault at Tongue. He was succeeded in the title and in the estate by his cousin Eric, son of the Hon. George Mackay of Skibo, of whom follows.

XIX. 3. Eric, 7th Lord Reay.

1797-1847.

THE flame of active rebellion did not break out in Ireland until 1798, so that for three years the Reay Fencibles led an uneventful life in that distressful country, doing garrison duty and overawing the discontented in detached parties. In the spring of the latter year, however, the Irish took up arms encouraged by promises of French help, and the Reays were ordered to march from Belfast to Cavan, in order to be within easy reach of threatened Dublin. Shortly thereafter they advanced towards Dublin in two divisions. On the 24th May, the first division of two companies, having pushed on close to the capital, was suddenly attacked and lost part of it [illegible], which happened to be in the rear.

When Major Scobie of Melness, who commanded the second division of five companies at Navan, heard what had happened, he immediately dispatched three companies to intercept the enemy. This force accompanied by a few Yeomanry after a forced and hungry march found the enemy 4000 strong posted on Tara Hill, on the evening of the 26th. Serious though the odds were, the Reays at once deployed and boldly pressed on to the attack, burning to avenge the petty loss of their comrades on the 24th. Sir Richard Musgrave in giving an account of that battle says, "the Reay Fencibles preserved their line, and fired with as much coolness as if the had been exercising on a field day." Under a hot ragged fire, to which they replied at regular intervals by sharp disconcerting volleys, they

reached the top of the hill without a waver and got at their foes with the bayonet. The Irish were brave as usual; but the disciplined courage of the Reays prevailed, and five hundred of their Gaelic cousins bit the dust on Tara Hill before the sun went down that evening on the field of carnage. Of the Reays, the hero of the day was Lieutenant Angus Mackay of the Colonel's company, who was promoted Captain "for bravery at Tara Hill," and "to rank as from 1st November, 1797." This brave man was a native of Kinloch, Tongue, and died at Thurso about 1834, the hereditary bannerman of the Aberach Mackays.

Towards the end of August, General Lake with the Kilkenny and Longford Militia and the Fraser Fencibles attacked a force of French and Irish at Castlebar. Lake's militia gave way in face of the enemy, and breaking into flight threw the Frasers into confusion. Poor Lake, who had left the Reays behind him at Tuam, was heard to exclaim in the bitterness of his sorrow, "If I had my brave and honest Reays here this would not have happened," as we are told by a contemporary, General Stewart of Garth. But not long after this, Lake overwhelmed the French force at Bala na Muic, capturing the survivors and scattered the rebels. Though the victory at Bala na Muic practically extinguished the rebellion, the Reays did not return from Ireland until 1802, when they were disbanded at Stirling.

In the spring of 1798, Lieutenant-Colonel George Mackay of Bighouse, commanding officer of the Reays, returned on sick-leave to Scotland and died at his brother's residence of Scotstoun, near Edinburgh, 6th September. So beloved was he of his comrades that they raised a tombstone to his memory in the Bighouse Aisle of Reay. The following paragraph from a letter by Mrs. Scobie, daughter-in-law of Major Scobie, which appears in Dr. Mackay's memoir of Rob Donn, bears testimony to the character of the Reay Fencibles:—

"During their stay in that country [Ireland], I have been assured by the officers of that corps, that there was not a single barrack occupied by the private soldiers, which had not a newspaper as regularly as the

MONUMENT TO LIEUT.-COL. GEORGE MACKAY.

IN THE BIGHOUSE AISLE REAY

1798] commanding officers had their; and whoever of the inmates was esteemed the fittest to read, and explain to such as could not read for themselves, was employed to read aloud for the benefit of all. In this way passed their evenings, not in "rioting and drunkenness" and [illegible] as they saved, was remitted for the benefit of their families and relatives at home.

As a case in point, we may mention that our own great-grandfather, Hugh Nicol, who served in the Reays from start to finish, returned home with a Bible which cost him three months' pay. That Bible, the reader may rest assured, is a treasured possession of the godly soldier's descendants. Of such men General Lake spoke truly when he called them "honest Reays," for *ri nahe [illegible] said*, i.e., breasting a conflict, Bible-loving lads may safely be trusted to do their duty in a tight corner.

While the Reay Fencibles were serving in Ireland, another regiment of militia was raised in the shire of Sutherland, of which Eric Lord Reay was Hon.-Colonel. It went by the name of Sutherland Volunteers, but drew pay like an ordinary Fencible regiment as we gather from Macdonald's *Journal*, and continued in existence for some time after 1808. Of that regiment five companies were raised in the country of Strathnaver, viz., the Bighouse, Farr, Tongue, Durness, and Edderachilis companies. It seems to have swept into its ranks practically all the able-bodied men of these RAY PARTS. localities, as the following quotation from a letter, dated 1798, from Mr. Anderson of Rispond to Captain Kenneth Mackay of Torbol, shows:—

"By the way, I should think they must see little who do not see this country approaching rapidly into a state of depopulation, and that by the very means once thought favourable. I mean the volunteering establishment. Such effect has the smattering of exercise upon the rising generation, aided by their pay that not one individual is to be found to lift a drum-stick remains unenlisted in Durness, and I am told the same is pretty true of the rest of the estate."

Mr. Anderson's gloomy anticipations were due to his difficulty in getting men to work for the Fishing Syndicate, of which he was the

acting director on the spot. The military movement also raised wages, and that was a sore blister to the complainant.

Again, in 1800 the Sutherland Highlanders, or 93rd Foot, was raised, and in that part of the shire which pertained to the Countess of Sutherland by a system of conscription. At anyrate that was the case in the parish of Farr, as we were informed by our maternal grandfather, Murdo Macdonald, whose two brothers drew black balls out of a ballot-box, as he told us, and consequently had to go. They both afterwards fell at the battle of New Orleans, 8th January, 1815. This regiment took part in the capture of Cape Town, 1805, and remained in garrison there until 1814. While stationed at the Cape, they formed themselves into a congregation, elected office-bearers, engaged the Revd. Mr. Thom to be their minister, paid his salary out of their own pockets, and regularly held the Communion after the Scottish fashion. Hear what the minister says of his remarkable flock, writing to the *Christian Herald* of October, 1814:—

"When the 93rd Highlanders left Cape Town last month there were among them 156 members of the Church (including 3 elders and 3 deacons) all of whom, so far as man can know the heart from the life, were pious persons. The regiment was certainly a pattern for morality and good behaviour to every other corps. They read their Bibles; they observed the sabbath; they saved their money in order to do good; 7000 rix dollars (£1400 stg.) the non-commissioned officers and privates gave for books, societies, and the support of the Gospel—a sum perhaps unparalleled in any other corps in the world, given in the short space of seventeen or eighteen months. Their example had a general good effect on both the colonists and the heathen How they may act as to religion in other parts is known to God; but if ever apostolic days were revived in modern times on earth, I certainly believe some of these to have been granted to us in Africa."

Seventy years earlier Lord Reay brought a cup to Strathnaver which split in a shower of blessing all over Sutherland, and the after-result is seen in the conduct of the 93rd at the Cape. To these men the exercises of religion became as essential as the morning tub is to the average cultured Englishman, and they saw nothing more remarkable in their own conduct than an Englishman does when he

1802-21] piously rubs himself down. Let not the reader imagine that the 93rd despised soap either: they were at the same time one of the smartest regiments of the Line, the afterwards immortal "thin red line" of Balaclava fame.

When the survey of the four northern counties was under execution 1790-99, the roads in these parts were mostly mere pony-tracks, innocent of bridges and utterly unfitted for wheeled traffic. This was eminently true of the roads in the country of Strathnaver, which may yet be traced in various places winding their angular course up hill and down dale regardless of gradient. The survey was followed in 1802 by an Act of Parliament, granting £20,000 stg. towards making roads and building bridges in the Highlands: and for enabling proprietors to charge their estates with a proportion of the expense. The proprietors were also empowered to have recourse to "statute labour," that is to forced labour, in order to carry out this scheme. APPENDIX No. 8.

In 1805 an Act of Parliament was passed "for assisting the proprietors of land in the county of Sutherland" towards the expense of making roads, and for "converting the statute labour of the said county into money." By this Act half of the expense was borne by the Treasury, and the other half fell upon the county after the following manner. The authorities to be organised for the purposes of this Act were empowered to assess the proprietors at not more than 2s. and not less than 1s. per pound Scots of old valued rental, yearly, until the sum required was raised. As to statute labour, tenants paying £5 or less of rent were to be charged 2s. yearly, leaseholders and tenants paying over £10 were to give in lieu of statute labour 3s. for the first ten pounds, and 3d. a pound for every pound beyond that. Heritors were assessed at the rate of 3d. in the pound for statute labour like the rest. In 1821 another Road Act was passed, making provision for the maintenance of roads already made and for the forming of new ones. By this Act the county was divided into three districts, with Boards for each. So that from the RAY PAPERS.

start, tenants and proprietors bore their share in the making and the maintaining of the county roads.

Almost as soon as Lord Eric succeeded in 1797, he took steps to reduce the leases which his uncle, General the Hon. Alexander Mackay, granted to the tacksmen on the estate, and in an ensuing law-suit was successful on the plea, that a lease granted by a curator is only valid during the life-time of the ward. In 1789 the total rental of the estate was only £1294 9s. 6d., but in 1797 a valuator reports that "if the present lord lives to the age of his father or grandfather, he may in the course of his life bring it to £5000 yearly rental." In 1815, however, so greatly had the war with France affected the price of meat, wool, meal, etc., that the rental of the Reay estate stood at £10,890 stg.

APPENDIX No. 64.

Ibid. No. 57

The great war with France, which raged intermittently from 1792 to 1815, and to which the Highlands of Scotland gave her sons in their tens of thousands, was the indirect cause of those "Highland Clearances" which many modern economists so much deplore. Proprietors all over the Highlands, finding that sheep-farms could afford to pay enormous rents, proceeded to clear the straths of their hardy peasantry and to turn them into sheep-walks. In no part was this policy carried out with greater heartlessness than in the shire of Sutherland, and especially in the valley of the Naver which runs through the parish of Farr. This was the property of Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland, who had married the Marquis of Stafford, and who was consequently very much of an absentee.

This policy was put into execution in a manner that was well calculated to press with unnecessary severity upon the smaller tenants, should the incoming leaseholder, who was generally a large south country capitalist, be lacking in sympathy with the people. A large tract of country was set to such a capitalist, with power to remove the old established tenantry as it suited himself. A Mr. Patrick Sellar, at one time an official of the Countess of Sutherland, in 1814 took a lease of the greater part of the valley on the east side

1814-9] of the river Naver, and proceeded to evict the people, burning their houses, peat-stacks, etc. During this process hundreds were rendered homeless, and an old bed-ridden woman was so severely burnt that she died soon afterwards. In due time the west side of the river received similar treatment, and by 1819 Mr. Sellar cleared that populous countryside of all its human inhabitants, burning everything before him.

To put such a power into the hands of a man like Mr. Patrick Sellar, who looked upon and treated the people of Strathnaver as *banditti* and sheep-stealers—see an extract of his own letter to Lord Reay in our Appendix No. 60—was a melancholy blunder if not a crime. Of the evicted some were huddled along the sea coast, a few sought an asylum in Caithness and Orkney, but swarms fled to Canada. One of the latter thus sings from distant Canada:

> "When the bold kindred, in the time long vanished,
> Conquered the soil, and fortified the keep,
> No seer foretold the children would be banished,
> That a degenerate lord might boast his sheep.
>
> Come foreign raid! let discord burst in slaughter!
> Oh! then, for clansmen true and stern claymore,
> The hearts that would have given their blood like water
> Beat heavily beyond the Atlantic roar.
>
> Fair these broad meads, these hoary woods are grand,
> But we are exiles from our fathers' land."

For the evicted ones who elected to stay in the country no provision was made for the re-building of houses, and no compensation made for the houses destroyed by fire. They were simply dumped down on land which they had to reclaim from a wild state, and practically left to shift for themselves. And yet, forsooth, this policy was, and is still by a few interested ones, called an improvement! Although on the estate of Lord Reay large tracts of land were placed under sheep and many tenants removed, the process was not attended by such inhumanity. For further details on this painful

subject, the interested reader should consult Mackenzie's *Highland Clearances* and Sage's *Memorabilia Domestica.* There is too much truth in the lurid pictures drawn in these books as we have good reason to know, for in the words of the Gaelic proverb, "Bha mi thall is chunnaic," I was over and saw.

In a previous memoir we showed that George, 5th Lord Reay, died before he was able legally to secure the estate in entail, according to his mother's marriage contract of 1732. When his brother Hugh succeeded, the curators made up his title on the lines of the agreement of 1741. Some time after Lord Eric succeeded, he found out that he had the option of making up his titles on the contract of 1732 or on the agreement of 1741, and that by the latter the estate would be a disentailed one. In 1825 he raised an action of Declarator against the heirs of entail, and was successful. Thus he secured the estate in such a fashion, that it was in his power to sell it should he desire to do so. Immediately on the conclusion of this lawsuit, his Lordship borrowed a sum of £100,000 stg. from the Countess of Sutherland and her husband, the Marquis of Stafford, on the security of the estate. In the bond there was a proviso that if the interest due upon the same was not duly paid, the estate would have to be sold within twelve months after the failure.

REAY PAPERS.

When his Lordship borrowed this money he had an income of close upon £10,000 a year from his own estate, and though an unmarried man this was evidently not enough to meet his expenditure. The inevitable was not far off, for the borrowed money was all spent in about a couple of years. Lord Eric made a feeble effort to free himself from the toils that were gathering round him, and endeavoured to raise money wherewith to repay the bond to the Sutherland family, but for some reason or another he did not prosecute his intention. In 1829 he needed more money, and sold all his estate in Strathnaver to the Marquis of Stafford, afterwards Duke of Sutherland, for the sum of £300,000 stg. Thus what the Mackays held through sunshine and through storm for about twenty generations, was at last

IBID.

1829] miserably frittered away in 1829[1] by a degenerate son, who accidentally got the power to do so.

His Lordship, who died in 1847 leaving no legitimate issue, was succeeded in the title by his brother, Major the Hon. Alexander, of whom a short account follows.

1. Since the above was written the *Reminiscences* of Evander MacIver, factor for the Duke of Sutherland, have been published, and contain at page 65 a very inaccurate account of the above transaction. It is not correct to say, as is said there, that the Marquis of Stafford "generously offered to lend money to Lord Reay, if that would suit his views, and prevent the sale of an old paternal estate." The truth is Stafford was naturally very keen to secure the estate, as a mass of letters on the subject in the *Reay Papers* show.

The Rev. Mackintosh Mackay, LL.D., the intimate friend of the brothers of Lord Eric, gives us the other side of the shield, and it is as much entitled to publication as the factor's account. We quote from his letter in the *Ben Reay Notes* . . . "The Sutherland family never did any good to the Reay family . . . . and I believe the correct interpretation of the transaction between the old Countess-Duchess of Sutherland and Eric, Lord Reay, who sold the estates of Reay to her, is that it was a siege of some five hundred years laid to the Reay estates by the Sutherlands, which they succeeded in winning at length in 1829. That worldly-wise woman lent money to Eric, Lord Reay, till she could turn upon him and compel him to pay the loans she had made to him, or give over his whole estate to her."

XIX. 4. Alexander, 8th Lord Reay.

1847-63.

WHEN Lord Eric sold the estate in 1829, no proper provision was made for his brother and successor in the title, the Hon. Alexander. This is what the Rev. Dr. Macintosh Mackay, an intimate acquaintance of Lord Alexander, writes in the *Ben Reay Notes*:—

"Lord Eric's younger brother, Alexander, then a Major in the army, with a numerous family, got not one farthing of the proceeds of the sale. He was left destitute and worse than destitute - he was imposed upon by being made to believe that his brother purchased an estate for him in Demarara, a Negro estate! But on that estate being examined, it was found pledged to the teeth, and was sold by judgment of the Court for its debts—debts which were not covered by the sale. A natural daughter of Eric's married a baronet in Hertfordshire. She was dowered by her father and made very rich, while his brother Alexander, with his whole family, was left pennyless."

His Lordship served for some time in the Gordon Highlanders, but on the embodiment of the 93rd or Sutherland Highlanders he joined that corps as a captain, and in 1815 was retired on half-pay and the rank of major. He afterwards held the rank of Barrack-Master of Malta.

Lord Alexander married, 8th April, 1809, Marion, daughter of Colonel Gall, Military Secretary to Warren Hastings, and widow of David Ross, Calcutta, eldest son of Lord Ankerville, a judge of the

Court of Session. Lord Reay, who died in 1863, had by her the following children :—

i. George Alexander, died 1811.

ii. Eric, who succeeded, and of whom follows.

iii. Anne Marion, died 1852.

iv. Sophia, married in 1852 Charles Arthur Alymer, and died in London without issue in 1866. As she had expressed a desire to be buried beside her great-grandfather, Am Morair Mor, her body was re-interred in the Reay vault at Tongue on Monday, 9th September, 1867, when a huge concourse of people attended the obsequies from all parts of Strathnaver. It was the last burial in the Reay vault; and on the preceding Sabbath the Rev. Dr. Macintosh Mackay preached the funeral sermon, which was afterwards published, in the Free Church of Tongue to as many people as could be packed into the building.

v. Mary, died 1852.

vi. Clara, died 1862.

vii. Elizabeth, died 1862.

viii. Charlotte, married John Drever of the India Civil Service, and died without issue in 1852.

XX. Eric, 9th Lord Reay.

1863-75.

ERIC, 9th Lord Reay, served for some time in the army as a Lieutenant, but retired and went into business. He died, unmarried, in 1875, when the title passed to the Dutch branch of the family, in the person of Aeneas Mackay, a Baron of the Netherlands, Vice-President of the Council of State, and holder of the Grand Cross of the Order of the Netherlands. Both Lord Reay and Baron Aeneas were in the 5th generation of descent from John, 2nd Lord Reay. See our Genealogical Account of the Dutch Mackays.

ADDENDUM: A CLOSING CHAPTER.

In 1813 Lord Armadale, grandson and heir of John Mackay, 5th of Strathy, sold the estate of Strathy to the Marquis of Stafford for £25,000 stg., and in 1836 Major Colin Mackay of Bighouse sold Strathhalladale to the same nobleman for £58,000 stg. With the £300,000 paid for the Reay estate, the Marquis of Stafford paid altogether about £400,000 stg. for the country of Strathnaver. Thus

ÆNEAS, 10TH LORD REAY

DONALD MACKAY, TACKSMAN OF MELNESS, SKELPICK, &c

at last, after a long struggle, English gold[1] gained the day for the house of Sutherland. Some years ago, the Duke of Sutherland sold the estate of Strathy and part of the parish of Durness to a Mr. Gilmour; and in 1900 His Grace sold a part of the valley of the Naver to the Congested Districts Board, in order to the replantation thereupon of tenants who will in due time become free holders.

The immediate effect of the "Clearances," which began in 1814, was socially disastrous. This policy swept away with one fell stroke most of the larger and middle class farmers, who were in many cases men of some culture, and whose adventurous sons served the Government in all parts of the world as officers, civil and military. Few of these farmers were reduced to the status of crofters, but the great majority left the country altogether. Their places were taken by Sellars, Marshalls, Reeves, Dunlops, Patersons, etc., all English-speaking men from the south, who farmed the country in large tracts and put their sheep in charge of shepherds from the Borders of Scotland. On the one hand the [illegible] occupied by large imported capitalist farmers, and on [illegible] ter indigenous class. Between these two a g[illegible] ned—a very unhealthy state of matters indeed.

In the course of three generations, [illegible] of matters has undergone a great change. The Bor[illegible] completely passed away, his quondam masters are almo[illegible] oo, and scions of the old stock are budding anew. Take for example the late Mr. Donald Mackay, tacksman of Melness and Skelpick, of whom we give a plate portrait on the opposite page. The submerged people of Strathnaver are slowly but steadily lifting their heads, and the waste lands are on the way of being re-peopled again. These "Clearances"

1. When the Countess Elizabeth succeeded to the title and estate of Sutherland, after a prolonged law-suit, her estate was burdened and there was no spare money; but when she became the wealthy Marquis of Stafford this state of matters was reversed. The said Marquis bought not only the country of Strathnaver, but also at a high price all the saleable estates in the southern part of the shire of Sutherland, viz., Skelbo and Torboll in 1804; Uppat in 1812; Carrol, etc., in 1812; Linsitmore in 1824; Creich in 1833; and Langwell in 1837. A few years before the last of these purchases was effected Stafford was created Duke of Sutherland, but by that time the other habitable straths of Sutherland were under sheep, while dotted all over were the gaunt walls of burnt houses, lately the homes of a brave and godly race. Ah the shame and the sorrow of it all!

damped the military ardour of the people for a time. During the Crimean War they refused to listen to the overtures of those in authority, and comparatively few from the country of Strathnaver took part in that struggle. When urged to fight for their country, they replied :—"We have no country : our country is under sheep : let them fight the Russians." At the present time, however, we understand that along the sea-board over 300 men are annually receiving training in the Naval Reserve of our country, and had there been any sea-fighting during the late Boer War, these men would have proved as serviceable afloat as their grandfathers did ashore in the French War.

In connection with this change no one deserves more honourable mention than Mr. John Mackay, Hereford, a native of the parish of Rogart. A soldier-crofter's son, by integrity and push he became one of the greatest Railway Contractors in Britain, and with his well earned wealth has never ceased to support every cause which he considers beneficial to the Highlands, and with especial respect to Strathnaver. It is not too much to say that in the present generation no Mackay has made a fairer name for himself, and certain it is that Strathnaver has not had a warmer or more liberal friend than "Hereford," the name[1] by which he is affectionately known. Had he poured his money as lavishly into the coffers of either political party, he would have had a handle to his name long ere now ; but he "hath chosen the better part."

The Clan Mackay Benefit Society, formed in Glasgow in 1806, was one of the earliest of the Scottish clan societies, of which we have now so many. We quote from its rules :—

"Therefore We, in our name, and in the name of all who may hereafter be actuated to join us, from a sense of personal and social duty, did upon the twentyfirst day of July, one thousand eight hundred and six

1. Mr. John Mackay, Hereford, belongs to the Aberach branch of the Mackays of Strathnaver. His father and grandfather were patronymically known as members of the *Clan Neil*, i.e. descended of Neil Williamson Mackay, who was killed at Thurso in 1649. The said Neil, whose sons and descendants were known as Neilsons or *Clan Neil*, was the son of William Mor, son of Neil mac'ian mac'William, 5th Aberach chieftain.

years, by Divine aid, constitute ourselves into a Society, under the title of M'KAY'S SOCIETY; and in order that our friendship may be maintained . . we . . determine in this method to raise a fund for the mutual help of each of us in the time of afflictive dispensations."

The Society was to consist of none but Mackays "of good moral character," and "it is to be understood that no Roman Catholic shall be admitted into this Society." For the maintenance of due decorum at their meetings, it is enacted that "if any person shall swear by the name of God, in the time of the meeting, he shall be fined One Shilling, sterling, for each oath."

About forty years ago the Edinburgh Sutherland Association was formed, and since then has continued to do admirable work in the shire. Its object is twofold: to help distressed countrymen, and to foster higher education in the country by prizes given after written examination. In both departments it has done untold good. In 1888 the Clan Mackay Society was started, with headquarters in Edinburgh and Glasgow. It has already raised a substantial bursary to assist deserving students, and has also collected a considerable sum of money as a Benefit Fund for members of the clan who may be in distressed circumstances. We understand that clansmen from all parts of the world have subscribed most generously towards this object.

GENEALOGICAL ACCOUNTS.

I. The Aberach Mackays.

Aberach Mackay Arms

I. Ian Aberach, son of Angus Du VII. of Strathnaver by his second wife, a daughter of Alexander Carrach Macdonald of Keppoch, son of John, Lord of the Isles, by his wife, a daughter of King Robert II., was the first of this branch. We quoted already at page 61 from the *Knock MS.* that "Mackay of Strathnaver was taken,

TABLE C.

Key Pedigree.

I. Ian Aberach, son of Angus Du VII. (See p. 97).

II. William Du, of Aldiecrrish, 1487.

III. William, k. 1517.

IV. Thomas. John, a w. 1548.

V. Neil MacEan MacWilliam, a w. 1571.

VI. Murdo, m. 1615. And others. William Mor, had com. 1624. (Line d.)

VII. John. Robert, 1649. (Line a.) Neil, k. 1649.

VIII. Rev. William, a w. after 1673. Murdo. Alexander, w. 1672. (Line b.) William. (Line c.) Robert. And others. Angus, 1678 (Line g.)

IX. Robert. Angus. Murdo. Donald. Robert. Hugh. Neil, w. 1700. Wm. Mor. (Line e.) Wm. MacRobert. (Line f.) William. 1694.

X. Hugh, b. 171[illegible]. Angus, 1789. William. Robert. William. Robert. John. 1731. Angus, a w. 1733. (Line h.)

XI. George, m. 178[illegible]. Robert, the historian, d. 1846. Captain Angus, 1798. William. Robert. Thomas. Angus, 1745.

XII. George, d. 180[illegible]. William.

XIII. Rev. James, b. 1820, living, with issue. And others. William, d. 1903, leaving issue. William, with issue. Malcolm, d. 180[illegible]. Angus, d. 1894, with issue.

who married thereafter a daughter of Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch, of whom descended the race of Mackays called *Sliochd Eain Abrich.*" In various encounters, already sufficiently described, he gallantly led the Mackays, and for some years during his elder brother's absence governed Strathnaver. Of his banner, now preserved in the National Museum, Edinburgh, we shall have something to say in an addendum to this Account. We show on page 242 the arms of the Aberach Mackays, as heraldically drawn from the representation on the said banner. The seat of the Aberach chieftains was at Achness, about two miles below Loch Naver, on the east side of the river. Their burial place was at Gnubeg, on an eminence close by the northern shore of Loch Naver, and in a special part of the cemetery there carefully walled off from the rest.

According to the *Bute MS.*, Ian Aberach m. a dau. of Macintosh of Macintosh, and had by her known issue two sons:—William Du, of whom follows: and John.

II. William Du, who took a prominent part at the battle of Aldicharrish in 1487, when the Mackays were assisted by his cousin, Macintosh of Macintosh. He is probably the William McKy, one of the two "armigeris," who witnessed in the Cathedral Church of Dornoch, 2nd April, 1497, the Precept of King James IV. to Iye Mackay of Strathnaver (*Appendix* No. 6). He m. a dau. of Hector Roy[1] Mackenzie of Gairloch by his wife, a dau. of Ranald MacRanald of Moidart (MacFarlane's *Collections*, Scot. His. Soc. 33: 78), and had known issue:—William, of whom follows; and Donald, k. at Loch Salchie along with his brother, 1517.

III. William was k. in 1517 at Loch Salchie, between Loch Shin and Oikel, fighting against the Murrays, who were probably in league with the Rosses. According to the *Bute MS.*, he m. a dau. of

1. In the *Bute MS.* Mackenzie's dau. is said to have been the second wife of Ian Aberach, but this is obviously a mistake. Looking to the dates at which they flourished, she must have been a contemporary of William Du, and was too young to marry his father.

Thomas Murray of Tulibardine, and had issue: -Thomas: John, of whom follows; Gavin: Alexander: Murdo: and Neil, of whom below.

Neil was placed in charge of Skibo Castle by the Mackays about 1545. When the Gordons came to power in the days of Mary of Lorraine, they tried to be avenged upon Neil for this and other acts of his. The *Blk. MS.* has the following item: "Letters of Fire and Sword granted by Queen Mary of Scots to John, Earl of Sutherland, against Neil Meky and his accomplices accused of misorder and slaughter in Strathnaver, whereby the said Earl was empowered to raise and convene all fencible men within Sutherland and apprehend the said Neil and his accomplices and if need be to seize houses, raise fire, commit slaughter and mutilation upon the said parties, which shall never be imputed as crime to the said Earl. At Banff, 12 Sep. 1556." The above savage clauses were usually inserted in Letters of Fire and Sword. The tradition is that Neil lay low until the storm blew over, hiding in Uamh Neil, Neil's Cave, in Ben Clibrig.

IV. JOHN WILLIAMSON, and nine others were summoned to appear before the Lords of Justice (Huntly, chiefly) at Inverness in 1538 "for alleged reset and intercommuning with Donald and William Galdochson, rebels, accused of the slaughter of unquhill Donald Henryson and others" (*Appendix* No. 17). In 1548 "John Willemson in Auchindes" witnessed a sasine of Langwell (William Gray's *Protocol Book*). He married the "unquhile Donald M'Kay's dochtir of Farr" (*Orig. Par. Scot.*, II., ii. 713), in other words the dau. of Donald XI. of Strathnaver and Farr, and had known issue a son and a daughter.

1. Neil MacEan MacWilliam, of whom follows.

2. Margaret, married 2nd May, 1562, William Sutherland or Hectorson, in Langwell, receiving as her "tocher thrie skoir of greit ky." She had known issue:—John Sutherland "alias Aberach" killed at Syre in February, 1587, evidently for the part which he took at the Durness conflict. Hugh of Strathnaver and Donald Balloch of Scoury obtained the king's pardon for the slaughter of the said John Sutherland, 1st January, 1598 (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*)

V. NEIL MACEAN MACWILLIAM, as "Nigello Mcleane MakWilliam, servis dicti Odonis" (Neil son of John son of

William, acting for the said Iye), witnessed the sasine to his cousin, Iye Du of Strathnaver, of the lands of Strathnaver, 20th April, 1571 (*Appendix* No. 26). In the same capacity he also witnessed the Grant for the charter, and the Instrument of Possession which Iye Du obtained. From this it is evident that Neil and Iye Du were fast friends, and that they fought shoulder to shoulder. After the death of Iye Du the Durness affair of 1579 drove a wedge between Neil and Huistean Du, as we show in the memoir of the latter. It also resulted in a bitter and prolonged feud between the Aberachs and the Gunns, in which much blood was spilt on both sides. Tradition has it that one of their fierce encounters took place at Beallach Vigais, about the middle of Strathhalladale and on the west side of the river. Neil Aberach's foster mother accompanied him to the field,[1] and as she saw one after another of her own sons struck down as shield-bearers to the chieftain, she kept calling "Apran ur air beal 'obh Neil" (a new apron in front of Neil). Of doughty Neil Sir Robert Gordon says, he was "a good captain, bold, crafty, of a very good wit, and quick resolution." The pity is that Huistean Du of Strathnaver had not the wisdom to give Neil a proper title to his ancestral lands of Achness. With such a man at his back he could have spoken with greater effect to his enemies in the gate.

According to the *Bute MS.*, he married a daughter of Hector Munro of Contalich, and had known issue four sons:—

i. Murdo, of whom follows.

ii. William Mor, of whom afterwards as VId.

Also Robert, who witnessed the marriage contract of Murdo in 1615; and Neil.

VI. Murdo held the lands of Gnubmore in wadset, and as cautioner to the 1st Lord Reay in a bond of 1636 is styled "Murdo

1. Hollinshed referring to this period writes: "In these days also the women of our country were of no less courage than the men, for all stout maidens and wives, if they were not with child, marched as well in the field as did the men." (*Chronicles*, V., 24.)

M'Ky of Cnubmoir" (*Reay Papers*). He married, 15th April, 1615, Christina, daughter of Donald Balloch of Scoury, and had known issue:—

i. John, of whom follows.

ii. Robert, of whom afterwards as VIIa.

Also Neil; and Ann, married Neil Campbell of Achnalick.

VII. JOHN is traditionally known as a man of pronounced piety, and strongly sympathetic with the persecuted Covenanters. He married Christina, daughter of the Rev. Alexander Munro, the poet preacher of Durness, and had one son, of whom follows:

VIII. REV. WILLIAM MACKAY, minister of Dornoch. A very important document, bearing upon the Reay estates, was witnessed at Fortrose by "Mr. William M'Ky in Dornoch," 1st February, 1673 (*Reay Papers*, Drawer 1, Bundle 2, Part ii, No. 5). From the importance of the paper, and the use of the courtesy title Mr., which was then the equivalent of Rev., we think the said William was the Aberach chieftain. Some years after that date, he frequently witnessed Mackay documents among the *Reay Papers*, as minister of Dornoch. He married Jane, daughter of John Duff of Braidie of Elgin, and had issue three sons: John, died unmarried in [illegible] age, Sheriff-Depute of Moray, married a daughter of [illegible] of Kinstorie, but no issue; and Hugh, died unmarried.

VIIa. ROBERT MACKAY, second son of Murdo VI., was taken prisoner at Balveny along with the 2nd Lord Reay, 1649 (*P.C. Reg.*). He had a condescendence from the 2nd Lord Reay, to himself and to his eldest son Murdo, "of the lands and grassings of Ainloine,

Drumrinnie, and Coulnafearn, to sit and raise crops on the saids lands and grassings, aye and until payment is made of 1000 merks" contained in a bond by his Lordship to Robert, 28th January, 1666 *(Reay Papers)*. At that time he held Lettermore and Letterloyal in tack, residing at the latter place. When the fortunes of the Reay Family were very low, owing to severe losses incurred in the cause of Kings Charles I. and II., Robert Mackay was one of the six in whose names the Reay estates were secured in 1673. He was also foster-father to Donald Master of Reay, who was accidentally killed in the Reay Forest. He married Isabella Munro, and had issue :—

i. Murdo, of whom follows.

ii. Alexander, of whom afterwards as VIIIb.

iii. John, a scholar of considerable attainments, teaching tutor of the 3rd Lord Reay. He witnessed the renunciation of the wadset of Eriboll, 8th September, 1719, as "John M'Kay, Tacksman of Langdale, Sheriff-Depute of Strathnaver." He had known issue :—Rev. George, of Edderachilis, died unmarried, 1743; Lieut. Alexander, of the Sutherland regiment; and John, who was married and had issue.

iv. William, of whom afterwards as VIIIc.

v. Janet married William MacAngus MacCallan Mackay, eldest son of "Angus M'Callan and his spouse Margaret nein Angus MacAngus." The said William had sasine on a contract of marriage, 11th April, 1670, of his father's wadset of the four pennylands of Strathmelness *(Reay Papers)*. We shewed on page 19 that these M'Callans were descended of Farquhar, son of Iye IV. of Strathnaver. The issue of this marriage was an elder son, of whom follows :—

"William MacWilliam MacAngus alias M'Ky," who had a Precept of *Clare constat*, 23rd April, 1686, as heir to his father in the wadset of Strathmelness. He married Elizabeth Mackay, and had known issue a son and a daughter viz., John Mackay of Strathmelness, who had a Precept of *Clare constat*, 1st February, 1726, as heir to his father in the wadset of Strathmelness. He was a poet, and a great friend of Rob Donn. He married Jane

Sutherland, grand daughter of the Rev. William Mackay, Rogart, son of Iye of Golval (*See* BIGHOUSE MACKAYS), and had issue, but we cannot trace them. He had a sister, Catherine, married to John Mackay of Clashneach, son of Hector of Skerray (*See* STRATHY MACKAYS).

vi. Christina, married Hugh Mackay of Cairnloch, son of John Mackay of Skerray (*See* STRATHY MACKAYS).

VIIIa. MURDO, "eldest lawful son and apparand heir to Robert Mackay in Lettirloyal," secured a bond from the 2nd Lord Reay, 12th December, 1664, over the lands of Coulnafearn, wester side of Strathbeg, and Drumnrini. He married "Jane third lawful daughter of Captain William Mackay of Borley," to whom he gave sasine of the above lands in life-rent, and to their eldest son Robert in fee, 17th September, 1681 (*Reay Papers*). He then resided at Carnachie, afterwards removed to Edderachilis, but eventually returned to the valley of the Naver. He had four sons and one daughter:—

i. Robert, died young.

ii. Donald, succeeded his brother in the bond by disposition 27th November, 1683. He took part in the Darien expedition, and at St. Christopher, West Indies, 21st January, 1700, disponed the above rights to his uncle, Captain Hugh Mackay of Borley, and died without issue.

iii. Angus Mackay, Clibrig, is charged by Borley to enter himself heir as eldest lawful surviving son to the "deceased Murdo Mackay," and to Donald his brother, 11th June, 1712. The said Angus was alive on 4th June, 1723, and residing in Moudail, but does not appear to have had any children.

iv. Murdo, of whom follows.

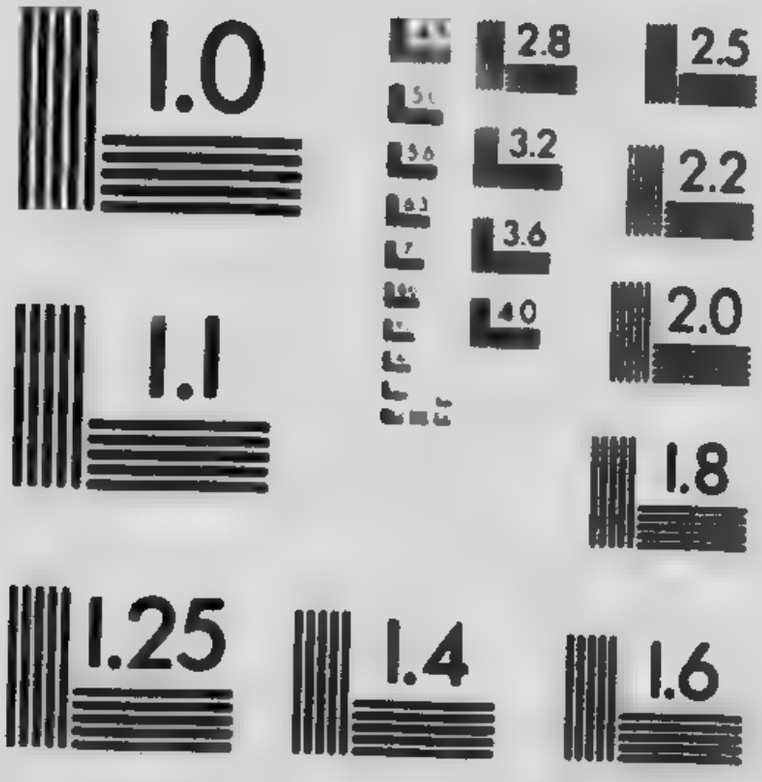
v. Elizabeth, mentioned in the disposition of 1683.

IXa. MURDO, mentioned in the disposition of 1683. He is said[1]

1. For our account of his descendants we are indebted to information supplied by the Rev. Dr. James Mackay, XIIIa.

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



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to have settled in the Heights of Strathy, where he had an elder son, of whom follows:—

Xa. HUGH, commonly called Huistean M'Corrichie, born about 1715, had a tack of Brae-Strathy, and married Catherine, daughter of John Mackay, Lettermore. He died in 1797, leaving issue three sons and two daughters:—

i. George, of whom follows.

ii. Murdo, who at the time of the "Clearances" removed to Aberdeen.

iii. John, served in the 93rd Highlanders, and settled in Glasgow.

iv. Isabella married John Mackay, Bowsid, and had issue:—

1. Captain Hugh Mackay, who settled in Glasgow and had:—Thomas, a shipowner in Liverpool; Isabella; and Hughina married Captain Adair.
2. John, served in the 93rd Highlanders.

v. Barbara Mackay married Angus Mackay of Dalvina, Strathnaver, but removed to Aberdeen at the "Clearances." They had an only son, Captain Hugh Mackay of the ship "Raymond."

XIa. GEORGE married Catherine, daughter of George Mackay of Arichliney, Kildonan, in 1785, and succeeded his father-in-law as tenant there. At the "Clearances" he sold out and removed to Wick, where he died in 1840. He had seven sons and three daughters:—

i. George, of whom follows.

ii. John, who was born in 1795, married a daughter of Mackay of Carnachy and had two daughters:—Jane; and Catherine, married Rev. J. Kennedy, Rosehall, Sutherland.

The other children were:—Hugh died unmarried at St. Ann, Jamaica, 1815; Robert died unmarried at Demerara, 1829; Angus died unmarried at Inverness, 1840; William, a planter in Demerara, lost at sea in 1841, on board the "India," burnt off

the coast of Brazil; James died unmarried in Demerara, 1829; Elizabeth died 1815; Jessie married in 1820 Andrew Mackay, merchant and fishcurer, Helmsdale, with issue; Isabella married Alexander Mackay, Wick.

XIIa. GEORGE MACKAY became a merchant in Inverness, 1811, in partnership with his maternal uncle, Captain Robert Mackay of Hedgefield, and continued for over fifty years to carry on the business. He was a J.P., senior bailie, and one of the directors of the Inverness Royal Academy. He married in 1819 Lillias, 3rd daughter of Duncan Grant, Dalshangie, Inverness, by Marjory, daughter of Major Alpin Grant, fourth son of Glenmoriston. He died in 1869, leaving eight sons and three daughters:—

i. Rev. Dr. James, of whom follows.

ii. Robert, a merchant in Inverness, married a daughter of Mr. Davidson, C.E., Burnfoot, near Inverness, and died in 1895 leaving three sons:—Charles, died young; Edward, served in the British India Steam Navigation Co. for some years, married and lived in Inverness, but no issue; and James G., now a medical missionary in Madagascar, married Kathleen Hedges, but no issue.

iii. Dr. Duncan, medical officer of health and police surgeon, Inverness, married first, Jane Allan, and secondly Sarah Ann Boyes. He died in 1886 leaving three children by his first marriage:—George A.R., agent for the N.S.W. Bank, Wellington, New Zealand, married Annie E. Mirams in 1892, but no issue; Mary Isobel; and Sarah Jane.

iv. Hugh, born 1824, a merchant in London, married and had four daughters.

v. George Grant Mackay, C.E., proprietor of Glenloy, Inverness, which he sold, settling in Vancouver, B.C., about 1880, and died there, 1893. He married, first, Annie Denny by whom he had two children:—George, married Gertrude Georgina Findlay, and has George, born 1900; also Margaret. He married, secondly, Jessie Simson and had four children by her:—Harry Hedgefield; Eric Aberach; Lilly Jane; and Florence.

vi. Rev. John died at Pau unmarried, 1864.

vii. Joseph, died unmarried at Brighton, Melbourne, 1857.

viii. William, married Christina Watson and died leaving two children:—Ronald; and Christina married a Mr Gunn, banker in Dingwall, afterwards C.A. in Glasgow.

ix. Lillias, who died in 1858, married J. Wallace Robertson, C.A.

x. Catherine, married in 1866 William Stevenson, J.P., manufacturer, afterwards of "The Lea," Bridge of Allan, and has three children:—Lieutenant William F. of the 23rd Bombay Rifles, drowned in East Africa, 1898; George H., an engineer on the Staff of the Assam-Bengal Railway; and Lillian, married in 1902 Lieutenant Owen Jones, R.N.R.

XIIIa. Rev. Dr. James, born 1820, chaplain during the Indian Mutiny, for which he holds a medal, married, first, Lucretia Livingston Reed, by whom he had issue as follows. He married, secondly, Margaret Fowler, who died in 1900, leaving no issue. He now (1905) resides at Boscombe, Hants.

i. Lieutenant-Colonel James Livingston Aberach-Mackay of the 8th Bengal Cavalry, now retired on half-pay.

ii. George Robert, in 1873 appointed junior professor in the Government College, Delhi, and a fellow of Calcutta University, 26th February, 1880. He married in 1873 Mary A. L. Cherry, daughter of General Cherry of the Madras Cavalry, and died at Indore, 1881, leaving four daughters:—Mary L. Mackay; Francis Lillian; Beatrice Georgina; and Catherine married in 1901 John Montagu E. S. Sharp, A.M.I.M.E., mining engineer.

iii. Lillias Grant, married at Merut, in 1870, Wi . Edward Maxwell, son of Sir P. B. Maxwell, Chief-Justice of the Straits Settlement, at Singapore. Mr. Maxwell became Governor of Gold Coast and received the submission of King Prempeh at Coomassie, 1896, and for services performed then was knighted. He died at sea of fever, on his way home, leaving issue:—

William George Maxwell, magistrate in the Straits Settlements; Charlton Neville Maxwell, also a magistrate; Eric Frank, a pleader, Singapore; Dennis Wellesley, an

REV. JAMES ABERIGH MACKAY, D.D.

officer in the Indian Army; Gerald Vernon, in civil employ under the Governor of Fiji; Peter Benson, Captain of the 35th Sikhs.

VIIIb. ALEXANDER, son of Robert Mackay VIIa. of Letterloyal, witnessed a document among the *Reay Papers* at Invernaver, 22nd October, 1672. He married Margaret, daughter of Andrew Fearn of Pitcallion by his spouse, Christian Ross, one of the fugitive Covenanters, with issue four children:—Angus; Robert, of whom follows; Rev. William, died minister of Tongue, in 1730, without issue; and Barbara (*See* EXCURSUS below).

EXCURSUS.—Barbara Mackay married Rev. George Brodie, minister of Edderachilis. On the death of her husband, she took a tack of Achovarasaid, 1742 (*Reay Papers*). The issue of her marriage was three daughters:—

1. The eldest daughter married Rev. Alexander Oliphant, Bower, Caithness, with issue.
2. Henrietta Brodie, married William Gordon, Langdale, and had a son Robert Gordon, tacksman of Langdale. Robert Gordon married Grace, daughter of Rev. William Mackenzie, Tongue, and had an only daughter, Barbara, of whom follows:—

   Barbara Gordon, married Rev. David Mackenzie, Farr, and had Grace, of whom follows:—

   Grace Mackenzie, who died in 1905, married John Macdonald, C.A., Edinburgh, and had the following seven sons:—

   James Macdonald, W.S., Edinburgh; Hugh Mackenzie, died 1862; John; Rev. David; Dr. William Burns, died 1903; Duncan Robert; and Alexander Moody Stuart.
3. Christina Brodie, married John Mackay, Auldanrini, and had known issue, two sons:—Angus, married and settled in Glasgow; and Captain Alexander Mackay, tacksman of Duartbeg, who married Helen, daughter of Rev. Alexander Falconer, Edderachilis, with issue two sons and five daughters as follows:—

   Rev. Dr. Mackintosh Mackay, Moderator of the Free Church in

IXb. Robert Mackay, tacksman of Halmdary, of whom we write on page 185. He married with issue five sons and one daughter.

i. Angus, tenant in Kinlochbeg, of whom follows.

ii. Robert, a merchant and shipowner in Glasgow, had an only daughter, who died unmarried, 1865.

iii. William, Tubeg, Moudale, but of whom nothing further is known.

iv. George, tacksman of Halmdary, married one of the Mathiesons of Shiness, who bore him two daughters as follows:—

1. Marion, married Angus Mackay, Kealmie, Farr. While Mackay was serving in the 93rd Highlanders, his wife and family were evicted owing to the "Clearances." Barbara, one of her daughters, married Angus Macleod, Achina, and had issue:—William Macleod, merchant, Achina; John Macleod, Inspector of Poor, Achina; and others living in Achina.
2. Christina Mackay married John Macleod, and removed to Strathy at the "Clearances," where their issue can be traced.

v. Murdo Mackay, tenant in Lettirmore, married a Miss Munro, and though a very old man had to remove to Orkney at the "Clearances." He had issue:—

1. Angus, drowned in Orkney.
2. John, a farmer near Stromness, married Be[illegible] of Grant, Falsaid, Tongue, with issue:— [illegible], who returned from Orkney to Strathy, married his cousin, Bella Grant, and had issue (John, tenant in Brawl, who has two daughters; David, died unmarried; Hugh, died in Glasgow leaving one daughter; Bell, married Angus

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1849, editor of the London Society *Gaelic Dictionary*, and also of Rob Donn's *Poems*; Lieutenant George Mackay, removed to Banff, married, and had a daughter, Helen (who married a Mr. Powell, and had a daughter, who became the mother of Dr. George Macdonald, poet, novelist, and preacher); Isabella Mackay; Mary Mackay; Alexandrina Mackay; Christina Mackay; and Helen Mackay.

Macphail; Christina, married James Douglas, no issue. Margaret, married William Miller, Dunnet; and Janet, married Alexander Mackay, Strathy-Point, with five children); Angus, died in St. John's, Newfoundland, leaving a widow and family; Christina, married Donald Campbell, Orkney, and had issue; and Kate, married in Australia.

vi. A daughter married Robert Mackay, Xf. Clibrig.

Xb. Angus, tenant in Kinlochbeg in 1789, married with issue four sons and two daughters:—

i. Rev. Hugh, minister of Moy, Inverness, died in 1804, young and unmarried.

ii. William, served in the Reay Fencibles, and afterwards a teacher in Orkney, where he married. His known issue was a son William, clothier, on "The Bridges," Edinburgh.

iii. iv. Robert; and Angus, settled in Orkney.

v. A daughter married Robert Mackay Xd.

vi. A daughter married Angus Macleod, Carnachy, and had with others Donald Macleod, an officer of the Army Commissariat, afterwards of Whitefield, near Thurso. Commissary Macleod had a daughter, Catherine, now widow of William Telford, Skerray, with issue:—Rev. William Hall Telford, U.F. Manse, Reston; Donald, married in Montreal; John, married in Skerray; Hugh, died young; Elizabeth (Mrs Maclauchlan); Mary (Mrs. Munro); Catherine; Anna; Benjamina; and Jessie.

VIIIc. William Mackay, son of Robert VIIa., married and had issue a son, of whom follows:—

IXc. Hugh, married Ann Mackay and had known issue a son, of whom follows:—

Xc. William, married Christian, daughter of Robert Mackay,

Durness, by his wife Janet, grand-daughter of Captain the Hon. William Mackay of Kinloch, and had issue a son and daughter, as follows:—

i. Robert, of whom follows.

ii. Anna, married George Levack, merchant, Thurso, and had four children:—Aeneas, died at Thurso in 1874, unmarried; William (*See* EXCURSUS below); Christina, married Robert Miller, no surviving issue; and Marion, died in Glasgow in 1888, unmarried.

XIc. ROBERT MACKAY, writer in Thurso, and factor for the Trail estate, Caithness. He was the author of *The History of the House and Clan of Mackay*, published in 1829. He married Barbara, daughter of Alexander Campbell, Thurso, and died at Thurso, 1846, having had the following issue:—

i. Captain William Mackay of the 3rd Foot, married Jane, daughter of John Hutchinson of Cairngall, Buchan, and died in Bombay, 1827, leaving a son Robert.

ii. Rev. Robert Dowie Mackay, Toronto, who died in 1899. He had

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EXCURSUS.—William Levack, settled in Glasgow in 1836, and became a partner in the firm "Scobie Brebner & Levack." He was one of the founders of the Glasgow Caithness Association in 1837, of which he continued a member till his death in 1893. He married Helen Noble and had issue, nine children:—

1. Rev. George S. Levack, Dollar, died 1905.
2. John A. M. Levack, died unmarried, 1880.
3. Ellen B. N., married Lieutenant Robert Assheton Napier, R.N.R., and had issue:—George L. M. Napier; and Ellen N. L. Napier, married James Dunnachie, manufacturer, Glasgow, with issue.
4. Anna Mackay Levack, married Alexander Ritchie, manufacturer, Glasgow, with issue:—Gilbert Ritchie of the China Inland Mission; and Ellen (Mrs. Kirkpatrick).
5. Robina, in Glasgow.
6. Elizabeth, married James Dunnachie, Director of the Glenboig Fire-Clay Company, Glenboig House.
7. Margaret, 33 Westbourne Gardens, Glasgow.
8. Marianne, Do.
9. Jessie Mackay Levack, married Samuel Hyslop Kerr, M.A. and Ph.d.

one son Robert, who predeceased his father and left a son Robert Mackay, b. 1894.

iii. Rev. John Mackay, Free now U.F. Church, Cullen. He m. in 1850 Charlotte, 3rd dau. of Captain Patton, 12th Royal Lancers, and d. at Edinburgh in 1903, leaving one dau., Caroline Charlotte Mackay, m. in 1877 John [illegible] William's Deacon Bank, M[illegible]

iv. Hannah Mackay, m. Rev. James Cairncross, [illegible]

v. A dau. m. Mr. Hyder Brown, [illegible]

VII. WILLIAM MOR, son of the Aberach chieftain, Neil MacEan MacWilliam V. Sir Robert Gordon styles him "William Neilsone chieftane of the Sleaght Ean Abrigh," at page 103 of the *Earldom of Sutherland*, and about the year 1626. The Privy Council on 1st June, 1624, commissioned "William McKy of Achannes" and others to apprehend certain parties charged with misdemeanour. This shows that he had a wadset of Achness, and that he took a very prominent place among the Aberachs. In the *House and Clan of Mackay* he is said to have resided at Carnachy, and we shall afterwards show that his sons lived there. On the 9th January, 1609, he and his elder brother Murdo, accompanied by a considerable body of Aberachs, [illegible] to the assistance of John Sutherland of Millery, Latheron, [illegible]r's son of Hugh Mackay of Strathnaver, who had a dispute with the Earl of Caithness over some property in Latheron. When the Aberachs arrived they found Taylor, an official of the Earl of Caithness, with a number of men arresting Sutherland's corn, cattle, etc. They at once set upon the earl's party, "bound them with cords and bowstrings," led them captive to a certain place, where "they stripped them naked, bereaving them of their weapons and entire

clothes, and then chased them back again as naked as they were born, exposing their bodies to the injury of a cold stormy day. They then stole from the lands of Berriedale horses, cows, etc., and drove them back to Strathnaver" (*P.C. Reg.*, 9th March, 1609). To strip and lash home with the bowstring was a common mode of showing contempt for the person.

William Mor m. Janet, dau. of Donald Balloch Mackay of Scoury, and had known issue two sons:—

i. Neil Williamson, of whom follows.

ii. John, who removed from Carnachy to Thurso, where he became a merchant and burgess. In a bond by the first Lord Reay to Neil Williamson of Carnachy he is described as "John McKy alie Williamsonne in Carnache." In a bond by the same to himself, 6th March, 1636, he is described as "John McKy burgess Thurso" (*Reay Papers*).

VIId. Neil Williamson. In our memoir of the 2nd Lord Reay we give a brief account of him until he fell at Thurso in 1649. He m. , and had known issue five sons:—

i. Robert, of whom follows.

ii. Neil Neilson in Corrihuron, against whom the Earl of Caithness and others took out Criminal Letters, 6th February, 1667, for spoils which he and his brothers took out of Caithness in revenge for their father's slaughter (*P.C. Reg.* and *Justiciary Record*).

iii. Hugh Neilson in Mudale, whose name is included in the above Criminal Letters.

iv. John Neilson in Corrihuran, also included in the above Criminal Letters, made many raids into Caithness as we record at page 146.

v. Angus Neilson in Skelpick, of whom afterwards as VIIIg.

vi. Donald Neilson, m. Christian, dau. of Iye of Golval, son of William Mackay I. of Bighouse.

VIIId. Robert Neilson lived for a time in Moudale, as is

stated in the Criminal Letters of 1667. In a sasine of Eriboll, 3rd November, 1707, witnessed by his eldest son Neil, he is designated "the deceased Robert Macky possessor of Achness." He m., first, , who bore him two sons

i. Neil MacRobert of Clibrig, of whom

ii. William Mor MacRobert, Achool, of whom afterwards.

Robert Neilson m., secondly, Elizabeth, dau. of Captain William Mackay of Borley (*See* SCOURY MACKAYS), and widow of the Hon. Charles Mackay of Sandwood. The said Elizabeth granted a Judicial Renunciation to her eldest son, by the first marriage, of lands which she held in life-rent as spouse of the Hon. Charles Mackay, 8th March, 1705, and is therein described as "relict of the deceased Charles Mackay of Sandwood, and now spouse to Robert Mackay *alias* Neilson in Achness" (*Reay Papers*). Of the second marriage there were two sons:

iii. John, had a tack of Moudale in 1736, and was a religious poet of no mean order, as some of his published pieces show. Rob Donn had a great admiration for John of Moudale, and composed an elegy to his memory in which the following stanza occurs, of which we also give a translation

"Cuis ardain nan Abrach,
Laimh laidir nach bagradh,
Ian failteach macRaibert 'ic Neil.'

The pride of the Aberachs,
Strong of hand without menace,
Genial John, the son of Robert, son of Neil.

In the will of Major Hugh Mackay of Riarchar he was appointed one of the guardians of the said major's children, and is therein designated "Ensign John Mackay tacksman of Moudale" (*Reg. of Deeds*, Mackenzie Office, Vol. 179). As we showed in our memoir of the 3rd Lord Reay, he was the hero of the engagement at the Little Ferry, 1746, in which the Earl of Cromartie was overthrown. He m. a dau. of Donald MacEachun

Mackay of Skerray (*See* STRATHY MACKAYS), and had issue three sons and four daus. :—

1. George, emigrated to Virginia along with other relatives in 1772.
2. Major Donald Mackay, tacksman of Eriboll, who m. Bessie, dau. of James Mackay, tacksman of Skerray, and had known issue a dau., Barbara (*See* EXCURSUS below).

EXCURSUS.—Barbara Mackay m. Captain Mackay John Scobie of H.E.I.C., eldest son of Major John Scobie of the Reay Fencibles by his wife Barbara (d. at Keoldale, 1818), second dau. of John Mackay 5th of Strathy. Captain Scobie was for sometime tacksman of Melness, and in 1815 removed to Keoldale, where he d., 1818, leaving three sons and three daus. :—

1. Major-General Donald Mackay Scobie of H.E.I.C., who d. unmarried at Keoldale in 1878
2. John Scobie, tacksman of Lochinver 1848-82, and of Keoldale 1878-89, where he d. the latter year. He m. a Miss Mackinnon, and had issue as follows:—Captain Neil Scobie of the Highland Rifle Militia, now in Montreal, m. a Miss Sulivan, with issue; Mackay John Scobie of the Indian Public Works Department, m. Miss Louisa Scott, with issue; James M. Scobie, now residing at Smoo House, Durness; Donald, of the Indian Public Works Department, m. Miss J. MacEwen, and has issue; Barbara, d. 1885; Alice; and Mary, d. 1894.
3. Mitchell Scobie, farmer in Australia, m. Flora Forbes, and had issue, an only son:—Mackay John Scobie of the 42nd Highlanders, served in the Ashanti war, and d. at Musselburgh in 1894 as Lieut.-Col. of the 3rd Bat. Royal Scots. He m. Matilda Agnes Hamilton and left issue:—Donald, tea planter in Ceylon; and Ian, still at school.
4. Jane Scobie, m. Captain B. Mackenzie of Creich House, Creich, and had issue:—Boyce J. Mackenzie, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, who has issue by his second wife, Susan Townsend; Mackay D. S. Mackenzie, manager of the National Provincial Bank of England, Clifton, m. Margaret Stevenson, with issue; and John Mackenzie, Creich, m. but no issue.
5. Bessie Scobie, d. at Smoo House, 1891.
6. Barbara Scobie, d. at Smoo House, Durness, 1891, aged 80. The last two were fine specimens of the old, stately, generous Highland ladies of the past generation.

3. Lieut. William Mackay, d. young.

4. A dau. m. Hugh Mackay in Kylestrome, son of John Mackay and his spouse "Elizabeth Mackay, lawful dau. and only child of the deceased John Mackay, tacksman of Forsinain, also apparent heir of the deceased Angus Mackay, sometime tacksman of the said lands of Forsinain, her grand uncle, who was also sometime curator to the deceased George Mackay of Bighouse" (*Reg. of Deeds*, Mackenzie Office, 22nd June, 1733). The known issue of Hugh in Kylestrome was a son:—Colonel William Mackay. In a letter from Major James Mackay, a Judge in St. Louis, to his brother Captain Robert Mackay of Hedgefield, near Inverness, 5th November, 1817, the following occurs:—"In 1785, before I left Canada for the north-west, Colonel William Mackay, a son of Hugh Mackay of Coylestrome in Lord Reay's country, who was an officer in the Queen's Rangers during the American Revolution, became acquainted with me and my friend . . . . at the same time he was preparing to settle on his land, in the Bay of Kenty, on Lake Ontario."

5. A dau. m. George Morrison in Strathmore, chief forester to Lord Reay.

6. Margaret, m. Robert Innes in Portchamil, and d. at Clashneach, 1823.

7. Ann, m. James Duncan in Moudale, issue:—Lieut. John Duncan, who m. Christina Gunn, with issue.

iv. William MacRobert, Tubeg, of whom afterwards as IXf.

IXd. Neil MacRobert Mackay of Clibrig is described in a sasine of Eriboll, 3rd November, 1709, as "Neil Mackay, lawful son of the deceased Robert McKy, possessor of Achness." In a sasine of Arnaboll, 16th December, 1709, he is designed "Neil Mcky of Clibrig." He m. , and had known issue a son, of whom follows.

Xd. Robert MacNeil Mackay m. a dau. of Angus Mackay Xb., Kinlochbeg, and settled in Kinloch. He had issue three sons and four daus.—two of the latter dying young:—

i. Hugh, known as *Huistean na Brataich*, removed to Thurso at the "Clearances," m. but no issue.

ii. Robert, settled in Achintoul, m. and had issue.

iii. Angus, of whom follows.

iv. Ann, m. Robert Gordon, Corrichuran, and bore Robert Gordon, Achness. Barbara Gordon, a dau. of Achness, became the 3rd wife of James Anderson, Risbond.

v. Betty, m., as his 1st wife, Donald Bain Mackay, Achina, and had issue :—Angus, emigrated to America; Betty Mackay m. William Morrison, Achina, and d. in 1886, leaving issue; and other children d. without issue

XId. CAPTAIN ANGUS of the Reay Fencibles. He joined the Fencibles as Lieut., 25th October, 1794, and was promoted Captain, 4th August, 1798, for bravery at the battle of Tara Hill (*Reay Fencibles*, by John Mackay, Hereford). He settled in Thurso after the regiment was disbanded, m. Forbes Mackay, and had issue a son and some daus. The Aberach banner passed to him on the death of his elder brother Angus. His only son was :—

Hugh Angus Mackay, who d. unmarried at Thurso, 1881. When he d. the banner passed to a friend, Alexr. Mackay, assessor for Caithness, Thurso, as we show in our paper on the banner, an addendum to this Account.

IXc. WILLIAM MOR MACROBERT MACKAY, son of Robert Neilson VIIId., is designed in a sasine of Eriboll, 4th November, 1709, as "William McKy in Achoul." He is remembered as a leading layman in the Heights of Strathnaver, who took a great interest in things religious. He m. , and had a son, of whom follows :—

Xe. WILLIAM MACKAY, tenant Grumbmore, who m. and had an elder son, of whom follows:

XIe. WILLIAM MACKAY, who joined the 93rd Highlanders, leaving a wife and two children behind him. While serving abroad his wife and children were evicted like their neighbours to Naver, in consequence of the "Clearances." He m. Isabella Mackay, issue five children:—

i. William, of whom follows.

ii. Redpath, tenant in Naver, d. in 1871, m. Barbara, dau. of John, son of Malcolm Mackay XIIh., and had issue as follows:—William, at present tenant in Naver; Alexander; John, in Australia; Jane m. Henry Mackay, Duneiden, N.Z., with ten children; Christie m. George Gillespie, and d. in 1899, leaving seven children, in Otago, N.Z.; Williamina m. George Coats, Manchester, no issue; Hughina; Johan m. Alexander Mackay in Durness, and has six children.

iii. Alexander, lost at sea.

iv. Jane, became the 1st wife of Alexr. Manson, Dalcharn, Tongue.

v. Kate, m. George Mackay, tenant in Naver, and d. in 1899, leaving four children:—George; William; John; and Isabella (Mrs. George Mackay, Naver).

XIIe. WILLIAM MACKAY, tenant in Leckvuirn, m. Lexy Mackay, issue two children:—William, of whom follows; and Janet, m. William Marshall, now in New Zealand with a large family.

XIIIe. WILLIAM, m. Ann, dau. of John Mackay, contractor, Achina, and d. at Inishlampy, Naver, 1903, leaving eight children[1]:—William; John George; Hugh; Janet, m. Hugh Ross, Strathhalladale; Lexy; Christina; Jemima; and Robina.

1. For our account of WILLIAM MOR MACROBERT MACKAY IXe. and his descendants we got much information from many living descendants residing in Naver. WILLIAM XIIIe., who d. in 1903, was patronymically known as "Uilleam mac eoghan Uilleaman, etc., William of the four Williams, to indicate his descent for four generations from ancestors of the name of William. He was also looked upon as the hereditary bannerman of the Aberachs.

IXf. WILLIAM MACROBERT MACKAY, son of Robert Neilson VIIId., and tacksman of Tubeg, Mudale, like his two brothers, William Mor and John, took a very prominent part in the religious affairs of Strathnaver. He m. , and had four children :—

i. Robert of Clibrig, of whom follows.

ii. William, tenant in Achoul until 1810, during the "Clearances" evicted to Grumbeg, and from thence again a few years thereafter. He retired to Wick, where he d. about 1828 (*Memorabilia Domestica*, 2nd Ed., p. 230). An eminently pious man, his memory is still fondly cherished by the people of Farr. He m. Janet Mackay, and had a dau. who m. Rev. John Robertson, preacher in Strathnaver, but afterwards minister of Kingussie—the latter had issue.

iii. George, Lochnaver side, m. , and had four sons :—Captain John Mackay, Rogart; Robert, in Kilmote: Captain Donald, near Tain; and Hugh, a merchant in Edinburgh.

iv. Elizabeth Mackay m., first, Duncan Mathieson of Shiness to whom she bore Captain Donald Mathieson of Shiness, who m. Catherine, dau. of Rev. Thomas Mackay, Lairg (*See* SCOURY MACKAYS).

She m., secondly, Dr Archibald Campbell, and accompanied him to America about 1772. Her son, George Washington Campbell, became U.S. ambassador to St. Petersburg.

Xf. ROBERT MACKAY, tacksman of Clibrig, m. a dau. of Robert Mackay IXb., and had three sons, who all d. without issue, and one dau. :—

i. Captain Hugh, of the Sutherland Fencibles, who d. in 1812, tacksman of Clibrig.

ii. Lieut. William of the 93rd Highlanders, d. at Wick, unmarried.

iii. Thomas, who served in the 93rd Highlanders.

iv. Janet Mackay, m. Hector Gunn, merchant, Thurso. with issue :—

Lieut. George Gunn, R.N., afterwards factor for the Duke of Sutherland; and a dau. (*See* EXCURSUS below.)

VIIIg. ANGUS NEILSON, son of Neil Williamson Mackay VIId. In a list of tenants on the Reay estate he is shown to have held lands in Skelpick, 1678, of 50 merks yearly rental (*Appendix* No. 63). He had known issue a son, of whom follows:—

IXg. WILLIAM MACANGUS MACKAY had sasine on a contract of wadset, 26th November, 1694, as "William McKy *alias* MacAngus, in Skelpick, and Effrick McKy his spouse . . . . on the town and lands of Skelpick, in the parish of Farr, for nine years for 250 merks yearly." A witness to this contract was "William McKy minister at Dornoch," the Aberach chieftain. On the 20th June 1718, "William MacAngus *alias* McKy, late of Skelpick, now of Carnoch," had sasine on a contract of wadset of the lands of Carnachy, for a sum of 3000 merks advanced to William, Lord Strathnaver. He had known issue, two sons:—

i. John, of whom follows.

EXCURSUS.—Miss Gunn m. William Mack[illegible]ntractor, Clashedy, Tongue, and had issue:—

1. George Mackay, m. a Miss Munro and has issue. He now lives in Clashedy, Tongue.
2. Hector Mackay, teacher, Tongue, m. a dau. of the late Patrick Mackay, contractor, Colbacky, Tongue, with issue. Jessie, one of his dauns., is m. to Dr. Murdo Mackay, Birmingham (*See* under XIIIh.).
3. William Mackay, teacher, Latheron, m. Mary Chisholm, and d. a few years ago leaving the following issue:—Rev. George J., Caledon, Ontario; Dr. John, Pelew, Newcastle, Canada; Rev. Edward, Madoc, Ontario; Dorothea (Mrs. Stewart, Latheron); Jessie (Mrs. Calder, Thurso).

ii. Angus, of whom afterwards as Xh.

Xg. JOHN MACKAY had a Precept of *clare constat* as heir to his father, 5th July, 1731, and had sasine of the lands of Carnachy on the 23rd of that month. He m. , and had known issue:—Thomas, of whom follows; William; Angus; and John.

XIg. THOMAS MACKAY, tacksman of Carnachy, m. , and had known issue, three sons:—

i. A son, tenant in Carnachy, m. a dau. of Macdonald, tacksman of Strathy. He had a son, settled as farmer in Cape Colony about 1817, and a dau. m. to George Mackay XIa.

ii. Another son, tenant of Knockan, Strathnaver, m. a dau. of Mathieson of Shiness, with issue:—Captain Donald Mackay of the 42nd Highlanders; and Betty—neither of whom married.

iii. Captain William, of whom follows.

XIIg. CAPTAIN WILLIAM MACKAY of the 93rd Highlanders, and tacksman of Skaill. He m., first, Elizabeth, dau. of Donald Mackay of Borgy (*See* STRATHY MACKAYS), who bore him four children:—

i. Donald, a tenant in Farr, who d. in 1874, m. a dau. of Alexander Mackay, Farr, and had an only dau., Elizabeth, who m. George Munro, Farr, issue four sons and one dau., all living in Farr.

ii. William, d. at Crossburn, Tongue, 1866, unmarried.

iii. Jessie Mackay, m. a Mr. Young, merchant, Glasgow, issue:—John, in Demarara, d. without issue; and Ann m. a West Indian planter, no issue.

iv. Elizabeth Mackay, m. Donald Murray, Glasgow, issue:—Eliza (*See* EXCURSUS below); Patrick, deceased; William Mackay Murray,

EXCURSUS.—Eliza Murray, m. William Denoon Young, issue:—Donald; Charles; Edward; Elizabeth; Catherine; Jessie; and J. A. Young, Osterley Court, Osterley, m. Mary Louisa, dau. of John Southam of Fallowfield Hall, Manchester, with issue.

m. Margaret Morrison, now in Kilmun; Rev. Hugh M. Murray, Fielding, Wellington, New Zealand; and Barbara, Fielding, N.Z.

Captain William Mackay of Skaill removed to Farr at the time of the "Clearances," and m., secondly, Henny Sutherland, niece of the Rev. William Mackenzie, Tongue, who bore him four children:—

John, a soldier, d. abroad; Alexander, d. unmarried; Grace, d. unmarried; Barbara, m. William Mackay, Armadale, with issue five daus. (Henny; Angusina; Betty, m. George Mackay, now in Naver; Mrs. Andrew Forbes, now in Armadale; Mrs. David Mackie, Dalkeith).

Xh. ANGUS MACKAY, son of William MacAngus Mackay IXg., witnessed a bond by John Mackay of Kirtomy, 4th July, 1733, as "Angus Mackay lawful son of William Mackay of Skelpick" (*Reay Papers*). Owing to his fair hair, he, his children, and grand-children were known as BAIN. He m. , and had known issue:— Angus, of whom follows; and Alexander.

XIh. ANGUS, in Auchlochy, near Skelpick. It is a tradition in the family that he formed one of a party told off to help the Strathhalladale men to resist an expected invasion from Caithness during the '45, and that this party suffered much from exposure while watching the Drumholstein hills. It is recorded in the *Book of Cromartie* that Lord Macleod, son of the Earl of Cromartie, intended to invade Strathnaver from the Caithness side, but desisted on learning that the range of hills was held in force. Perhaps the tradition has some connection with Lord Macleod's project. He m., first, Janet Macleod, who bore him an only child Malcolm, of whom follows.

He m., secondly, , and had issue:—William; and a dau. who m. one of the Gordons of Skelpick, with issue (Angus Gordon; Kate; and Janet. These all removed to Brawl at the time of the "Clearances.")

XIIb. MALCOLM, joined Lord Macleod's Highlanders in 1777, was severely wounded on the head and taken prisoner at the bloody battle of Perambacum, India, 6th September, 1780. After remaining in the hands of Hyder Ali for a considerable time, he was set at liberty and invalided home. Thereafter he was drafted into a Highland regiment which proceeded to America, and obtained his discharge upon a pension about 1797. He was again, however, recalled as a pensioner in 1801,[1] and attached to one of the Provisional Regiments of Veterans doing garrison duty, but eventually the old wound on the head rendered him totally blind. He m. Barbara Mackay, and d. at Newlands, Farr, 1820, having issue five children:—

i. James, served in the 78th Highlanders through the Java campaign of 1811, and d. of fever in that island after the regiment returned to quarters.

ii. Donald, served in the Gordon Highlanders, and was killed at Waterloo towards the close of the day by a stray cannon shot.

iii. Angus, of whom follows.

iv. John, m. in Newlands and had a dau., Barbara, who m. Redpath, son of William Mackay XIe.

v. Alexander, d. unmarried, 1868.

XIIIb. ANGUS MACKAY, in Rianchaitel, m. Jane, dau. of Donald Mackay, Riefail, and d. in 1824, leaving three sons:—

i. John, in Achneskich, b. 1818 and d. 1897, m. Anne Mackay and had seven children:—John, d. unmarried 1901; Angus,

1. Macdonald, the Skerray teacher, records in his *Journal*:—"About the beginning of April, 1801, there was a general call for the out-pensioners. Those of Caithness and the county of Sutherland were ordered to appear at Dornoch on 30th April and 1st May. In consequence of the above order I appeared and was inspected by a doctor, but was returned unfit for garrison duty. A few only were ordered for garrison (I think there were only 12 kept out of 150), the rest were all dismissed, and got at the rate of a penny a mile to carry them home."

Inspector of Works, Adelaide, Australia, m. but d. without issue; James, a contractor in St. Louis, U.S.A., m. Jessie , issue four childr n (John: Angus: Ann: and Jessie): Eric; Donald, merchant, Bettyhill, m. Janet Mackay, issue three children (Ann: Jane: Angusina); Johan (Mrs. Durward), New York, no issue; and Jane.

ii. James, in Rianchartel, b. 1822 and d. 1873, m. Isabella, dau. of Murdo Macdonald, Achneskich, issue five children:—

1. Rev. Angus, U.F. Church, Westerdale, the writer of this book. He m. in 1901 Eva, dau. of Rev. Donald Mackenzie, U.F., Farr, and widow of Rev. Cathel Kerr, U.F., Melness, with issue two children:—James Iye, b. 14th February and d. 14th June, 1902; and James Iye, b. 14th March, 1904.
2. Murdo, M.A., M.B., C.M., a medical officer in Birmingham, m. Jessie, dau. of Hector Mackay, teacher, Tongue, with issue:—James; and Winniefred.

3, 4, 5. Donald; Jane; and Annie.

iii. Donald, now (1905) tacksman of Achnabourin and Carnachy, m. Janet, dau. of Murdo Macdonald, Achneskich, issue fo children:—James Angus, b. 1879; Murdo; Jane m. James Mackay, Achargary, with issue (Mary; and Janet); and Christina.

ADDENDUM: AN ACCOUNT OF THE ABERACH-MACKAY BANNER.

The earliest reference to the Aberach-Mackay Banner of which we have any knowledge, meantime, is in an article on Tongue parish in the *First Statistical Account*, written about 1792, by the Rev. William Mackenzie, and is as follows:—

"There is a cave in the rock upon which the castle [Varrich, near Tongue] is built called *Leabaidh Eoin Aberaich*, *i.e.*, John of Lochaber's bed, whither he is said to have retired in time of danger. A family of Mackays is descended from him, and are reported still to have in their possession his banner, with the motto wrought in golden letters, *Bioth treun*—*Bioth treun*, *i.e.*, Be valiant."

The writer of this article was inducted minister of Tongue in 1769, and laboured in that parish till his death in 1834; but before his settlement at Tongue he was minister at Achness, Farr, 1766-9, as we are informed by his descendant, James Macdonald, W.S., Edinburgh, and as the *Presbytery Records* show. His long and intimate acquaintance with the Mackays both along the valley of the Naver where he had a daughter married and settled—and at Tongue, Lord Reay's seat, coupled with his taste for family lore, as we gather from Sage's *Memorabilia Domestica*, give considerable weight to his passing reference to the Aberach-Mackay banner. When he says that the banner of Ian Aberach was then reported to be in the possession of his descendants, he was but relating what was traditionally believed during the latter half of the 18th century, viz., that this banner was the battle-flag of Ian Aberach, who led the Mackays at the battle of Drum nan Coup, 1433, and who became the progenitor of the Aberach-Mackays. The banner has occasioned a Gaelic proverb, known throughout the north of Sutherland and in daily use among Strathnaver people at the present day. When a Strathnaver man would express in Gaelic the idea conveyed by the English saying, "as old as the hills," he invariably uses the phrase, "cho sean ri bratach nan Abrach," *i.e.*, as old as the Aberach banner. The banner, which is shown to be very old by this Gaelic proverb, is made to date from the earlier half of the 15th century in the tradition recorded by the Rev. Wm. Mackenzie; while both proverb and tradition agree in saying that it was the flag of the Aberach-Mackays.

In *The House and Clan of Mackay*, at p. 258, the historian relates

that the Aberach "family-colours" were then in the possession of an Aberach, residing at Thurso, called by the Highlanders *Huistean an Brataich, i.e.*, Hugh of the Banner. Both in the body of the book and in the genealogical account he shows that this Hugh was the lineal descendant of Neil Williamson Mackay, who was killed at Thurso in 1649. He also states that the said Neil obtained possession of the said family colours, which rightly belonged to his uncle, Murdo Mackay, the chieftain, and in con ence of this act of usurpation bad feeling was engendered between uncle and nephew but that Neil and his descendants continued to retain the banner henceforward. From this it appears that the banner descended lineally from sire to son, and was always possessed by the Aberach chieftain for the time being until shortly before 1649, when it passed into the possession of Neil. This also agrees with traditions among Strathnaver people at the present day.

We offer the following explanation of the transference of the banner from the family of Murdo the chieftain to that of Neil his nephew. The Reay family and its adherents supported the falling cause of the Kings Charles I. and Charles II., while the Sutherland family and its adherents adopted the opposite and winning side. As a result of this policy, the estate of Donald, 1st Lord Reay, became so embarrassed that the lands of Strathnaver were practically all appreysed for debt, and charters over them were obtained by adherents of the house of Sutherland. But the Aberach-Mackays, who claimed the lands of Achness, etc., as theirs in virtue of the grant (*Earld. of Suthr.*, p. 66) to their progenitor from his elder brother Neil Vass, about 1437, energetically resisted the filching of what they considered their property. In this struggle, Neil Mackay, nephew of the chieftain, was the leading spirit so long as he lived, and after his fall in 1649 the conflict was continued by his sons. In these circumstances it was but natural that Neil and his sons should possess themselves of the banner, as they were the virtual leaders of the Aberach-Mackays. But it is also quite likely that this

caused friction between them and the family of the chieftain.

The writer of this paper was born and brought up at the foot of the Naver valley, was intimately acquainted with old people who had been driven from the heights of the strath, in consequence of the "Sutherland clearances" in the second decade of last century, and was frequently an interested auditor of their tales and traditions. Many of them never read the *History of the House and Clan of Mackay*, but they were unanimous in saying that the Aberachs had a banner, and that this banner was safely preserved at Thurso during the seventies of last century. To one of these old people, William Mackay, army pensioner, Dalcharn, Bettyhill, we must make more particular reference.

William Mackay was born at Rossal, near Achness, in 1797, joined the 78th Highlanders in 1823, and after an army service of twenty-two years, settled at Dalcharn in 1845, where he died in 1893. Donald Mackay, father of the said William, married as his first wife Ann Mackay, sister of *Huistean na Brataich*, but William was a child of Donald's second marriage. As William the pensioner was a near neighbour of ours, we knew him intimately; and he often used to tell us that for two years before he joined the army he resided at Whitefield, near Thurso, with his kinsman, commissary Donald Macleod, a first cousin of *Huistean na Brataich*. During these years, 1821 3, *Huistean na Brataich* was a welcome and honoured visitor at Whitefield, and William, as he told us, saw the banner at different times. In 1842 William returned home on furlough, called at Thurso by the way, and was again shown the banner by Hugh Angus Mackay, nephew of *Huistean na Brataich*, in whose possession it then was. When in 1881 Hugh Angus, the said nephew, died at Thurso unmarried, William the pensioner was very anxious to secure the banner, and solicited our aid to this end, but it passed shortly afterwards into the possession of Alexander Mackay, assessor for the county of Caithness. The assessor died at Thurso, 15th January, 1895, leaving no issue, and towards the close of 1897 the

administrators of his estate handed the banner over into the custody of the Clan Mackay Society, who in turn deposited it for preservation in the National Museum, Edinburgh, where it now rests.

The Rev. Wm. Mackenzie, writing in 1792 from information gathered no doubt when he laboured at Achness during 1766-9, gave his testimony as already quoted. We are thus warranted in concluding that the banner was treasured by the Aberachs, about the middle of the 18th century, as the genuine flag of Ian Aberach and dating back to the first half of the 15th century. In 1829 the historian of the *House and Clan of Mackay* states that this banner was then in the possession of *Haisteau na Brataich* at Thurso, and in more recent times the testimony of William the pensioner links us back to that of the historian. Among other traditions William the pensioner told us that this banner was carried, and nearly lost, by the Aberachs in a fierce encounter which they had on the Strath of the Naver with *Sliochd Eun Rwaidh*, another family of Mackays. This we take to be the battle above Syre, to which Sir Robert Gordon refers in the *Earldom of Sutherland*; and as it was in revenge of the slaughter of William Beg Mackay, killed at Durness about 1579, it must have taken place not long thereafter. The site of this battle and the trench where the dead lie buried are well known, on the height above the old house of Syre. If this tradition be correct, it carries us back to the days of Neil MacEan MacWilliam, grandfather of Neil who was killed at Thurso, and great-great-grandson of Ian Aberach. On the next page we give a key pedigree of the possessors of the Aberach Mackay banner from the progenitor of the family downwards.

The banner is of cream-white silk—hence the name *Bratach Bhan, i.e.*, Fair Banner, by which it is sometimes known—and is in a tattered condition. It is very evidently a fragment of its former self. Its length is only [illegible] inches, and its breadth about 20 inches—a size far too small for a battle flag. It will be observed that the shield and crest are not now correctly related to the hoist, or leather

Key Pedigree: The Possessors of the Aberach Banner.

I. Ian Aberach-Mackay, fought at Drum nan Coup, 1433.

- II. Wm. Du, fought at Aldicharrish, 1487.
  - III. Wm., k. at Loch Salchie, 1517.
    - IV. Thomas.
      - V. Neil MacEan MacWilliam, witnessed a sas., 1571.
        - VI. Murdo, marriage contract, 1615.
          - *A quo* the chieftains.
          - VII. Neil Williamson, k. at Thurso, 1649.
            - VIII. Robert Neilson, Criminal Letters, 1667.
              - IX. Neil MacRobert of Clibrig, witnessed a sas., 1709.
                - X. Robert MacNeil, Kinloch, c. 1760.
                - XI. Huistean na Brataich, in Thurso, 1829, aged 80.
                - XII. Hugh Angus Mackay, d. at Thurso, 1881.
    - John, witnessed a sas. of Langdale, 1548.
    - And others.
  - Donald, also k. at Loch Salchie.
- John.

- William Mor, a commission, 1624.
  - John.
  - And others.
  - And others.
  - Robert.
  - Captain Angus.

strip, sewn along what is shown as the top of the flag in the photographic reproduction, fig. 1. As related to the hoist, the shield now lies unnaturally on its side instead of facing it, and the lion rampant which it carries is made to appear as a lion passant. Evidently the leather hoist became detached when the flag got

FIG. 1. THE ABERACH MACKAY BANNER. (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.)

tattered, and was then by misadventure sewn to the wrong side. If we imagine the hoist attached to what is shown as the left side of the flag in fig. 1, the shield and crest will appear correctly placed; the flag will be 36 inches broad, or allowing for frayed margins, perhaps 38; while its length may have extended to 50 inches or more. Sir J.

Balfour Paul, Lyon King of Arms, in a letter of 14th March, 1899, writes :—

"If it is a banner, the principal armorial charge on it is represented in an unusual manner, as it does not face the hoist of the flag, which is the usual practice, but the bottom of it."

We think we have explained how it came to present this unusual and unnatural, appearance. He proceeds :—

"The charge referred to is evidently intended for a lion rampant; round the lion, at some distance from it and following the shape of a shield, have been at one time two thin lines representing, in my opinion, the outer and inner members of a double tressure. On the top horizontal line of this tressure, and projecting outwards from it, are five ornamental floreated objects, the centre one of which has a corresponding projection on the inner side of the tressure: in the middle of the vertical line down each side of the bends where the base begins to converge to a peak, and at the peak itself, there are similar objects all projecting both on the outer and inner sides of the tressure. What these objects are intended to represent is difficult to decide definitely; some of them might possibly be classed as thistles, some as fleur-de-lys, but none of them possesses such characteristics as would enable one to put them down distinctly as one or the other. . . . . The whole flag is evidently the work of some one unacquainted with the principles of heraldic design."

The design is rudely executed as may be understood by an examination of fig. 1, and the Lyon King is guarded in expressing his opinion as becomes one occupying his high office, but we venture to think that what he states so guardedly is an undoubted fact. The shield is traced out by the two lines of the double tressure, surrounded by thistles and fleur-de-lys, and carries the lion rampant. The heraldic significance of the double tressure and fleur-de-lys is royal descent. This is shown by the following extract of grant (*Sutherland Book*, iii, p. 220) by King George I. to the Earl of Sutherland, 14th July, 1718 :—

"George R. Whereas it has been humbly represented to us that our right trusty and well beloved cousin John, Earl of Sutherland, is lineally descended from William, Earl of Sutherland, and Lady Margaret Bruce,

second daughter to Robert the First, King of Scotland. . . . . therefore . . . . and in consideration of the nobleness of his blood, as being descended not only from the ancient thanes and earls of Sutherland, but from the royal family of Scotland, as is aforesaid, we hereby authorise and order our Lyon King at Arms . . . to add to the paternal coat of arms of the said John, Earl of Sutherland, the double tressure circonfleurdelize."

It is now well known that the only son of the marriage between William, Earl of Sutherland, and Lady Margaret Bruce died unmarried, and that the family of Sutherland is descended of the second wife Joanna Menteith. But into that matter we need not go further here. We have shown already that Ian Aberach was a son of Angus Du Mackay by his second wife, a daughter of Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch, and a great-grand-daughter of King Robert II. It was probably because of this royal descent that Ian Aberach put such a charge upon his banner. The sons of Angus Du Mackay, although natives of the then rude north of Scotland, were not unacquainted with the heraldry of the period. Neil, eldest son of Angu Du by his first marriage, was for ten years in the south a hostage of the king, and spent some of that time on the Bass Rock while Ian Aberach is said to have been fostered in Lochaber, and may have sojourned at the semi-royal court of his kinsman the Lord of the Isles. However rudely[1] the designs on the banner may be executed the son of Angus Du had some knowledge of heraldry, and gave expression to what he considered he was entitled to on this flag.

Let the reader look again at the flag as represented in fig. 1, and it will be seen that there is a crest above the shield. The crest consists of a hand, erased, appaume, that is with extended fingers showing the palm. Round the hand runs the legend VERK VISLY AND TENT TO YE END. Across the palm of the hand are the Gaelic words BE TREN, be valiant, as the Rev. William Mackenzie recorded about 1792 in his account of the parish of Tongue. John Mackay of

1. The banner of Huntly captured at Flodden is also rudely done, and its heraldry is not in accordance with the technical rules laid down by the College of Heralds. We direct our readers' attention to a representation of that banner in *Proceedings of the Ant. Soc. Scot.*, XXXVI., 251.

Herrisdale, author of *An Old Scots Brigade*, etc., states in the June *Celtic Monthly*, 1893, that Hugh Angus Mackay, the last Aberach hereditary bannerman, told him that his father always understood and read the words on the palm of the hand as *Bidh treun*, Be valiant. Of course, Mr. Mackay wrote these words adopting the modern Gaelic spelling. The final letter of TREN is not well-formed, and this has led some modern students to read it *treu*, true, but it was intended for TREN, valiant, and so understood by the Aberach Mackays.

As is well known among Strathnaver people *Bi tren*, Be valiant, is the slogan of Mackay, which became Latinised into *manu forti*, the motto of Mackay since the family was dignified. The old Gaelic motto is neater and pithier than the modern Latin one, a concoction of the College of Heralds. *Forti* adequately expresses the idea of "be valiant," and the *manu* with a hand seems to us superfluous. Ian Aberach may not have been well up in the science of heraldry as it is understood to-day, but he knew how to express himself briefly and to the point in his mother-tongue.

As this was not the banner of the principal family of Mackay, now represented by the Lords of Reay, but of the Aberach-Mackays, the oldest cadet line of that family, we naturally expect to find some difference between the arms of the principal family and that of the cadet. The armorial bearings of Donald, 1st Lord Reay, of which we give a coloured plate in our memoir of him, were as follows:—

"ARMS.—Azure on a chevron, or, between three bears' heads, couped, argent, muzzled, gules, a roebuck's head, erased, between two hands holding daggers, all proper.

CREST.—A right hand holding up a dagger, paleways, proper.

MOTTO.—Manu forti.

SUPPORTERS.—Two men in military habits with muskets, in a centinel posture, proper."

In our description of the arms above we have copied word for word from a paper among the *Reay Papers*, in the handwriting of the close of the 18th century. Another document in the said *Reay*

Papers gives the arms of the 5th Lord Reay in the following quainter language :—

"Saphire, on a Chevron Topaz, between three Bears' Heads couped Pearl and muzzled Ruby, a Roebuck's Head erazed Ruby, between two Hands holding Daggers, all Proper.

CREST.—On a wreath, a Right Hand couped and erect, grasping a dagger as those in the Arms.

SUPPORTERS.—Two Men in a Military Dress, with Muskets in a Centinel Posture, all Proper.

MOTTO.—Manu Forti."

Before the family was dignified in the person of Donald, 1st Lord Reay, 20th June, 1628, the arms were "argent over three mullets,

FIG. 2. STONE WITH ARMORIAL BEARINGS AT KIRKTON, STRATHHALLADLE.

azure, a hand naked, proper," of which we give a coloured plate in our memoir of Iye Roy Mackay X. of Strathnaver. Sir J. Balfour Paul, Lyon King, in a let er of 6th November, 1899, writes :—

I am much obliged by the Rev. A. Mackay pointing out the entry in Sir James Balfour of the arms of 'Mackay of Strathnaver 1503,' as consisting of 'argent over three mullets azure, a hand naked proper.'

This is given immediately before 'Mackay of Strathnavern now Lord Reay,' who is assigned the present arms of the Baron. The presumption is that they altered their arms on the creation of the Peerage, and this view is rather supported by Nisbet, who, in giving the arms, says that 'since that family was dignified' their achievement was, etc."

That is to say, according to the Balfour MS., the shield of Mackay of Strathnaver in 1503 bore "a naked hand" without a dagger, just as is represented on the banner. But such a charge is also found on at least two Mackay tombstones known to us. Fig. 2 is a representation of the Kirkton stone. It bears the initials A.M.K., of Angus Mackay II. of Bighouse; and the date 1630 indicates that it was erected over the tomb of his first wife, Jane Elphingstone, niece of Lord Elphingstone, who died that year. The stone was found in 1894 among the ruins of Kirkton Chapel,[1] and is now fixed on the pillar of the Kirkton Cemetery gate. The shield is peculiarly divided into two halves by a horizontal line. Above the horizontal or fess line, and in the dexter division, there is a roebuck's head pierced by an arrow exactly similar to the emblem on the Tongue stone (fig. 4). In the sinister division there are three bears' heads. Below the fess bar there is a hand with fingers extended, resembling the crest on the banner, and flanked by what appears to be two blades. These flanking daggers may indicate the transition from a "naked hand" to a "hand holding a dagger," for it was shortly before this that Donald Dughall was created Lord Reay.

Within the ruins of the old church of Durness there is a stone over the tomb of Donald MacMurdo MacIan Mor, of which a representation is given in fig. 3. The said Donald was a grandson of Ian Mor Mackay—the natural son of John XI. of Strathnaver—and not a Macleod as is erroneously stated in the *House and Clan of Mackay*. There was a family of Macleods in Assynt called *Sliochd Ian Mhor*, but this was "Donald MacMurdo MacIan Mor, chieftain

1. In 1274, and also in the following year, a collection was raised in this chapel towards the Crusades (Theiner's *Mon. Vet.*). It was used as a Protestant place of worship for many years after the Reformation, but it is now a shepherd's kail-yard! This is one of the fruits of the miserable "Clearances."

of the Slaight Ean Woir in Strathnaver," according to Sir Robert Gordon (*Earld. of Suthr.*, 254). Now Sir Robert, for reasons of his own, would never allow that Durness and Edderachilis formed part of the country of Strathnaver—he was wrong in this, as we showed in our Introductory chapter—so that the Sliochd Ean Woir of which Donald was chieftain could not possibly be the Assynt Macleods, as the tribe is said to have been a Strathnaver one. Besides, the account which Sir Robert gives of Donald MacMurdo MacIan Mor

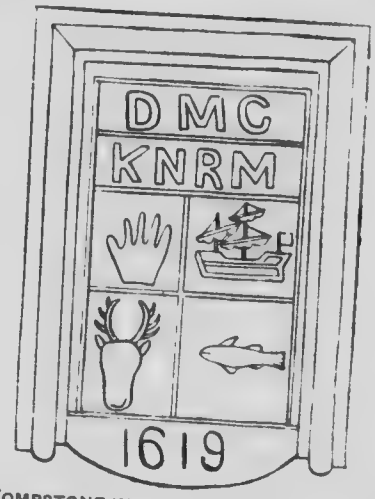


FIG. 3. TOMBSTONE IN THE OLD CHURCH OF DURNESS.

and his adherents clearly indicates that he was a Mackay. Angus MacKenneth MacAlister, who was slain at Hope about 1605, was a dependant of the said Donald (*Earld. of Suthr.*, 253), and laid claim to some lands on Strathfleet. As John Mackay of Strathnaver, father of Ian Mor, got a grant of these Strathfleet lands from the Earl of Sutherland in 1518 (*Appendix* No. II), and had as a dependant Alister, grandfather of Angus MacKenneth MacAlister, we are justified in concluding that the grandson, who clung to these lands, still depended on a descendant of the house from which his grand-

father got them. Ian Mor, son of John Mackay, had at least five sons, viz., "Neil M'Ane Moir, Rory M'Ane Moir, Murdoch M'Ane Moir, John M'Ane Moir, and Tormat M'Ane Moir." (Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, I, 352). Murdo M'Ane Moir, the third mentioned, was the father of Donald MacMurdo MacEan Mor, who is buried at Durness. Now the shield over Donald's tomb[1] bore as shown in fig. 3, along with other charges, "a hand" with extended fingers, and a stag's head. There are no daggers associated with the "hand" here, because in 1619 we have not yet reached what we have called the transition period. In 1619 it was simply a "hand" just as on the banner; in 1630 the hand is flanked by two daggers; and after that period, as the tombstones of Strathnaver prove, the hand holds a dagger.

The crested hand on the flag is clearly Mackay, and so also is the motto BE TREN, the slogan of the clan. Indeed, the peculiar use of the word *treun* by Strathnaver people in daily conversation strikes one from other parts of the Highlands at once. Everything superlative they describe as *treun*. A fine day is *la treun*, a good horse *each treun*, and so on the whole round of the gamut. We are strongly inclined to believe that the frequent use of this vocable may be ascribed to the place which it had in their war-cry, in the old days when the war-cry rang out so often. Of the legend round the crested hand we can offer no explanation.

The charge on the shield, a lion rampant surrounded by the double tressure and fleur-de-lys, is altogether different from that of the principal family of Mackay. In crest and motto the charges practically agree, in shields they are far apart. On the Tongue stone, however, which is represented by fig. 4, the shield is supported by two lions surmounted by pendant thistles. This stone is built into the wall of Tongue House, and bears the initials, D.M.R., of Donald

1. The stone which covers his grave bears the following inscription, said to have been composed by the 1st Lord Reay in a frolicsome moment - -

"Donald Mak-Murchou heir lyis lo:
Vas il to his friend, var to his fo:
True to his maister in veird and vo."

Master of Reay, who rebuilt the house in 1678 after it had been completely destroyed by fire. The said Master of Reay, who predeceased his father, was fostered among the Aberachs, and probably out of compliment to that family adopted as the supporters of his shield the lions, surmounted by thistles, which are found on the Aberach flag. We cannot imagine any other reason for diverging from the "armed men" which his grandfather, father, and successors used.

As the Aberach chieftains never recorded arms at Herald's Office nor put them on tombstones, so far as known to us, the flag alone

FIG. 4. STONE BUILT INTO THE WALL OF TONGUE HOUSE.

tells what they took the liberty of using. But this we may say, they have a better title to carry "the double tressure circonfleurdelize" than the house of Sutherland, notwithstanding the grant of King George I. already referred to.

The tinctures which characterise the armorial bearings of the Lords of Reay are azure, or, and argent, or in other words blue, gold, and white; and these are the colours in which the design on the Aberach banner is worked. The flag or *Bratach Bhan* is white. The body of the design is in blue thread, the outwards are in gold now considerably faded. The lion and outer portion of the floreated

objects round the double tressure are strongly blue, so are the bars on the wrist and the letters, but the extended fingers are in gold. There are no red threads in the design, so far as we can judge, although there is a little red in the bearings of the Reay family. With this exception the Aberach tinctures are exactly those of the principal family of Mackay. Though the banner has little artistic merit, it claims to be one of the oldest clan banners now existent in Scotland, and we are glad that it is safely preserved in the National Museum, Edinburgh, after its long and stormy career of close upon five hundred years.

The sinister hand which is so characteristic of Mackay arms is not a common device on Highland coats of arms. It seems, however, to have been a charge borne by M'Neil of Gigha, one of whose daughters married Donald Mackay III. of Strathnaver in or about 1300 A.D. "Lauchlan M'Neil of Tearfergus, descended of the family of M'Neil of Geigh," as Nisbet informs us, bore "a sinister hand couped fesse-ways in chief." The Neilsons and O'Neil of Ulster also carried a somewhat similar hand. The arms of O'Neil, according to Woodward and Burnett, were "Argent, a hand appaume [*i.e.*, open, showing the palm] couped, gules." It is just possible that the hand passed from O'Neil of Ulster to M'Neil of Gigha, and from the latter to Mackay.

As for the three stars or mullets on the shield of "Mackay of Strathnavern, 1503," they may indicate the Moray connection, for it is generally supposed that the old family of Moray bore three stars, and that these charges are now borne by the Douglasses, Sutherlands, Janeses, Brodies, etc., because they have entered into the ancient inheritance of that family. Something of the same kind happened when the family of Macdonald of the Isles stepped into the shoes of the Norwegian earls of Caithness and the Isles. On the outside board of the *Book of Clan Donald* the old arms of Macdonald are stamped, viz., a galley with a crowned mast. We beg to tell the Macdonalds that they "lifted" this device. We have been permitted

to examine a number of plaster-casts at Thurso, taken by the late Dr. Sinclair, about sixty years ago, from seals attached to ancient documents lying in Barrogill Castle, and belonging to the old earls of Caithness. Among these casts there is one labelled of the 13th century, and representing the seal of the Earl of Caithness, which is an exact fac-simile of what appears on the *Book of Clan Donald* to the minutest detail. The explanation is simple. When the Lords of the Isles obtained the sovereignty of the western seas, after the disappearance of the Norse earls of Caithness, they took the seal and arms of their predecessors, a galley with a crowned mast. In a similar fashion, perhaps, the Douglasses, Sutherlands, Brodies, etc., took the three stars of Moray.

II. The Scoury Mackays.

ARMS OF GENERAL HUGH, 3RD OF SCOURY.
(FROM HIS OWN SEAL)

1. DONALD BALLOCH[1] son of Iye Du Mackay XII. of Strathnaver by his wife and cousin, Helen, dau. of Hugh Macleod of Assynt, was the first of this family. In 1590 he played the part of a skilful and gallant leader at the battle of Clynetradwell, near Brora, saving the situation for the Earl of Caithness whom he assisted that day. He had under his command a strong force of archers drawn from Assynt, Strathnaver, Caithness, and Orkney, who were three times

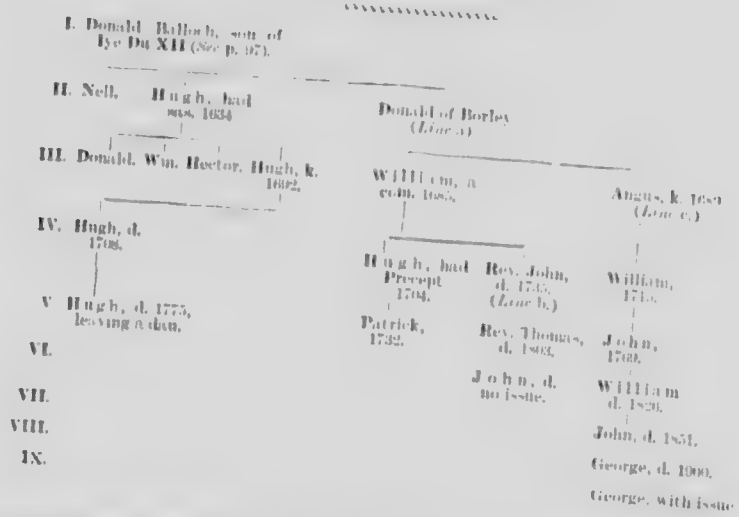
1. Donald Balloch means Donald of the Spot—a birth-mark probably.

thrown into confusion and as often reformed by Donald Balloch, whose personal prowess at last turned the tardy scale of victory to the admiration of even his fierce opponents (*Earld. of . other.*).

He had a charter of Alienation from his brother, Huistean Du of Strathnaver, of the town and lands of Kinlochbervie, Scouriemore,

TABLE D.

Key Pedigree.



Scouriebeg, Eriboll, etc., 31st December, 1605 (*Reay Papers*). He m. Euphemia, dau. of Hugh Munro of Assint, Ross, a brother of Robert Munro of Fowlis, and granted her sasine in liferent and to their elder son, Neil, in feu of the above lands, 25th February, 1606. The issue of this marriage was four sons and four daughters :—

i. Neil, had sasine of his father's estate on a Precept of *clare constat*, 19th April, 1620, and on the same day, with consent of his brother Hugh, resigned "for ane great sum of money from his

superior, Sir Donald Maky, all and sundrie the lands of Keandloichberwie, Nahardin, Fanzidell, Laxfourd with ye salmond fescheing of ye samyne, Scowriebeg, Scowriemoir, Tarbet, Caldstrombeg, Caldstromemoir, Edderachylis, Islanhanda, Sandowatt, Alschelourbeg, Alschleormoir, Yrsgill, Badcall, Dowart, Naferss (?), Geiskill, lyand betwix the merches of the water of Kylescoug at ye sowthe, ye fylm of Glencowiles and the mainesey at ye wast and northe plis, the Beallache of Corriechowne at ye eist sd. And all and heal the half dawache landis of Ilanryr and dawache landis of Erbill wt ye lands of Ilandchory, lyand within ye baronie of Wastmoine." (*Reay Papers*).

ii. Hugh of Scoury, of whom follows.

iii. Donald of Borley, of whom afterwards as IIa.

iv. William, Captain in the 1st Lord Reay's Scots regiment serving in the Thirty Years War. He afterwards became Lieut.-Col. of a Swedish regiment, and fell at Lutzen, near Leipzig, in 1632, where also fell King Gustavus Adolphus, under whose banner he fought.

v. Margaret, m. Alexander Sutherland of Kilphedder.

vi. Janet, m. William Mor, son of Neil MacEan MacWilliam, the Aberach chieftain (*See* ABERACH MACKAYS).

vii. Christian, m. Murdo, eldest son of Neil MacEan MacWilliam, the Aberach chieftain (*See* ABERACH MACKAYS).

viii. Ann, m. John Tarrel of Strathflete.

II. HUGH, obtained a wadset of the lands of Eriboll in 1626 for £2000 Scots, which he disponed in 1634 to Hector Munro of Pitfure who came to reside at Eriboll, and whose descendants retained these lands for three generations. Hugh purchased from Lord Reay the estate of Scoury which his brother Neil had disponed, and had sasine of it 27th June, 1634. We give the following extract of the disposition in his favour, preserved among the *Reay Papers*.

"Be it kend till all men be thir put. Irs. Me, Donald Lord Rae, heritable proprietor of the lands and others, and for certain great soumes

of money reallis and with effect advancit, payed, and delivered to me for making of thir pnts. be our trustie cousing, Hew Makie of Eirboll, of the qlk. soumes of money we hold us weill contentit, completiely satisfied and payed, and renouncing the exceptione of *non numeratio* money, auth of pairty, and all uther exceptions competent be the law, we exoner and discharge the said Hew Makie his aits and exers. of the samen be thir presentis simpliciter and for ever, to have saule and in few ferme and heritage analret and dispontit, Lykeis we for the onerous causes forsaid instantly and in few ferme and heritage sell, annalzrie, and dispone to the said Hew Makie his aits maill and assigneys, heretablie, irredemablie, and bot onie kyne of reversione, rogress, or redemption qlksomever, All and sundrie the lands, feschings, woods, and grassings of Eddrachilis with their pertinents whatsumever undermentioned, viz., All and heal the davach lands of Killstromes, the lands of Fouartmoir, Dourtbeg, the lands of Geiskill, the lands of Badchuill, the lands of Skouriemore, Skouriebeg, the lands of Tarbeit, the lands of Ffynidew, the lands of Rieroy, the lands of Auchtavikfarie, All and heal the ylland of Handa, with all and sundrie the yllands of Dewroy, Mellalands, Galway, with all the other yllands qtsomever lyand betwixt the Stoirhead in Assin at the west and the river of Laxford at the eist, with which the lands are boundit, and that as follows, viz., Glencoul and Killkaik at the south and south-west, the sea at the north till the water at Laxfuird and as the said water of Laxfuird descends from Knockan-Kelloch and fra that to Loichmore and to Lochstak and theretrae to the sea, which waters as they run from Knockan Kelloch to the sea are the marches cognoscit to devyd the said lands of Eddrachilis from Dirridmore and the Ard . . . . . all lyand within the parrochein of Ardierurness, in Strathnaver, and shirriffdom of Sutherland."

In 1643 Scoury was appointed a commissioner of supply for the shire of Sutherland, and in 1648 a member of the War Committee (*Acts of Parl.*). In 1649 he was taken prisoner at Balveny Castle, and in 1650 was appointed by Parliament colonel of a Fencible regiment to be raised in the north, and again in 1661 was re-appointed a commissioner of supply (*Acts of Parl.* and Balfour's *Annals*). For the part which he took in supporting Charles II. his estate was apprised in payment of fines and pretended debts, but General Mackay, his son and successor, managed to clear away these encumbrances. He m. Ann, dau. of John Corbet of Arkboll, Ross, and had issue six sons and three daus. :—

i. Donald, who d. young (*Blk. MS.*).

ii. William, who was driven ashore near Thurso by stress of weather, 14th February, 1668, cast into a foul dungeon in said town, and after some days of cruel confinement put aboard an open boat which set out for Scoury, but he died on the passage. This barbarous treatment was due to a feud between the Mackays and the Sinclairs at the time.

iii. Hector, waylaid and murdered in Aberdeenshire by Sinclair of Dunbeath and three others, 11th August, 1668. In consequence of these misdeeds, the Mackays obtained Letters of Fire and Sword against the Sinclairs, as we show in our memoir of the 2nd Lord Reay.

iv. General Hugh Mackay, of whom follows.

The other children were:—Col. James, k. at Killiecrankie; Roderick, who took the oath as Provost-Marshal of the Scots regiment in Holland, 11th June, 1677; Barbara, who became the second wife of the 2nd Lord Reay; Elizabeth, m. Hugh Munro of Eriboll (and had an elder son John, who disponed Eriboll to Captain Mackay of Borley in 1700, and m. Rachel, dau. of Angus Mackay IV. of Bighouse); and Ann, m. the Hon. William Mackay of Kinloch, son of Donald, 1st Lord Reay, with issue given already.

III. General Hugh Mackay of Scoury, known among countrymen as *An Sheuilir Mor*, The Great General, to distinguish him from other generals of the name of Mackay. In our memoir of the 3rd Lord Reay we gave an account of his life to which we now refer the reader. He m. at Bommel in Guelderland Clara de Bie, a Dutch lady of noble extraction, and had issue a son and three daus.:—

Hugh, of whom follows.

The daus. were:—Margaret, m. George, 3rd Lord Reay, with issue; Anna Barbara, m. Mr. Reyard, minister of Nimeguen; and Mary, m. Mathew Linyindeck, burgomaster of Nimeguen.

IV. Hugh, only son of General Mackay, was given a company in his father's Scots regiment, 1st September, 1692, and d. at Cambrai in 1708 of an accident received in the field, holding the rank of

major. He m. Anna de Lancy, a Swiss lady, who bore him two sons and one dau. :—

i. , of whom follows.

ii. Gabriel, became captain in Halket's Scots regiment 20th November, 1730, colonel 1st April, 1748, and was dead in 1758 (*Scots Brigade in Holland*).

iii. Clara Margaret, m. Baron Ren Duyck, and had issue:—James Charles Ren Duyck, m. Baroness Louisa Neuvenherm, with issue; and Anna, m. Major-General J. W. Van der Hup, and had issue living in 1828 (*Blk. MS.*).

V. HUGH, became captain in one of the Scots regiments in the service of Holland on 20th September, 1729, and lieut.-general in 1772. As a special mark of honour he was made honorary colonel of his grandfather's old regiment of Scots, 17th December, 1773 (*Scots Brigade in Holland*, ii., 122). He m. Isabella de Savornin, and d. at Breda 9th July, 1775, leaving issue an only dau. of whom follows:—

Anna Louisa Mackay, m Lieut.-General Prevost, colonel of the 60th Foot, and Lord of Belsinge in the Republic of Genoa. On the 5th September, 1775, General Prevost "obtained his Majesty's Royal Licence and authority for himself and his issue by his wife Anne Louisa, to assume and take the surname of Mackay, and also to bear the arms of Mackay of Scoury in the shire of Sutherland, pursuant to the will of Hugh Mackay of Scoury, Esqr., deceased at Breda, late lieut.-general and colonel of his Majesty's regiment of Infantry in the service of the States General" (*London Gazette*, September, 1775, and *Blk. MS.*). They had issue:—James Mackay-Prevost, lieut.-general in the 60th Foot, 19th August, 1777; and two daus.

IIa. DONALD MACKAY of Borley, Durness, the 1 son of Donald Balloch of Scoury, resided for some time at Iddenmore in the same

parish. He was along with Lord Reay at the affair of Balveny in 1649, and was a prominent Royalist. He m. Christiana, dau. of the Rev. Robert Munro, Creich, Sutherland, and had known issue four sons:—

i. William, of whom follows.

ii. Angus, of whom afterwards as IIIc.

iii. Major Iye of Keoldale, m., first, Euphan Mackay, who bore him:—John in Balmulich, Durness, 1723; Hugh; Anna, m. Hector Munro; and Christina. He also m. a second time.

iv. Donald.

IIIa. Captain William of Borley, a zealous Royalist, led a company of Mackays at the battle of Worcester, was appointed a commissioner of supply for the shire of Sutherland by the Parliament of 1685, and also by that of 1691. He m. Elizabeth, dau. of Alexander Corbet of Arkboll, Ross, with issue three sons and five daus.:—

i. Captain Hugh, of whom follows.

ii. Donald, whose connection with the Darien expedition we described in our memoir of the 3rd Lord Reay, pp. 173-4.

iii. Rev. John, of Lairg, of whom afterwards as IVb.

iv. Elizabeth, m., first, the Hon. Charles Mackay of Sandwood (*See* Sandwood Mackays), secondly, Robert Neilson Aberach Mackay (*See* Aberach Mackays), and thirdly, John Grey of Rhine, Rogart, who gave her sasine in life-rent of the lands of Rhine in virtue of their contract of marriage, 2nd December, 1707.

v. Barbara, m. Hector Mackay of Skerray (*See* Strathy Mackays).

vi. Christina, m. Hugh Munro of Achany, and had sasine of Achany, etc., in life-rent, 3rd February, 1691.

vii. Isobell, m. John Mackay of Melness (*See* Melness Mackays).

viii. Jane, m. Murdo, eldest son of Robert, son of Murdo Neilson, the Aberach chieftain (*See* ABERACH MACKAYS).

IVa. CAPTAIN HUGH, commanded a company of Mackays raised in 1689 to assist General Hugh Mackay of Scourie, and was afterwards appointed constable of Ruthven Castle. He was retoured heir to his father, Captain William, 13th April, 1704, when his mother "Elizabeth Corbet being solemnly sworn, as said is, gave her great solemne oath, by the name of the Great God Almighty with uplifted hands and eyes to Heaven" (*Reay Papers*). He m., first, Anne, dau. of the 2nd Lord Reay, but had no issue by her. He m., secondly, Jane, dau. of Patrick Dunbar of Sidera. They had sasine to themselves in life-rent and to their eldest son in fee of the lands of Sidera, 18th June, 1719, and there the captain continued to reside until his death. His children were:—

i. Hugh, who d. unmarried before 1719.

ii. Patrick, of whom follows.

iii. John of Tordarroch, Dornoch, m. Jane, dau. of George Gray of Skibo by his second wife, Betty, a dau. of Sir James Dalrymple. He sold the lands of Tordarroch to the Earl of Sutherland, 25th May, 1758. They had two sons and two daus.:—

1. George, an ensign in the Earl of Sutherland's regiment, obtained a company in the 60th Royal American regiment, 1778. He m. Mary, dau. of Colonel Houston of the Scots Brigade in Holland, who bore him Lieut. Robert of the 78th Highlanders, d. unmarried; and Hugh, d. unmarried.
2. Hugh, entered the army of the H.E.I.C. in 1766, and d. in 1768.
3, 4. Jane; and Elizabeth, both d. unmarried.

iv. Barbara, first wife of George Gray of Skibo, had sasine in virtue of her contract of marriage, 31st July, 1716, of the lands of Cuthel, Hiltoun, Achlach, and the Mains of Skibo.

The other children were:—William, emigrated to Georgia; George, a writer at Edinburgh, 1731; Donald, a merchant in

London; Robert, a merchant in Rotterdam; Angus; and Elizabeth.

Va. Captain Patrick, commanded a company of Mackays during the Mar rebellion of 1715, and after disponing his rights over Edderachilis to Lord Reay and selling Sidera to the Earl of Sutherland, joined General Oglethorpe in the expedition to the new settlement at Georgia in 1732, accompanied by a large body of people from Edderachilis,. How it fared with these Mackay settlers we cannot say. He m. in 1716 Helen, dau. of the Rev. Iye Mackay, Clyne, and by her had one dau. of whom follows:—

Jane Mackay, m. Alexander Gordon, from Fife, and had issue:—Major Alexander Gordon, of 2nd Foot, retired in 1823 and d. soon after, unmarried; Major George Gordon, of the 8th West India regiment, d. at Aberdeen, unmarried, 1819; and Hugh, major of the 16th Foot, 1811, afterwards lieut.-general and governor of Jersey, d. unmarried (*Annual Register* for 1823).[1]

IVb. Rev. John Mackay, third son of Captain William IIIa. of Borley, finished his theological course at Utrecht, Holland, in 1704, and in 1706 became minister of Durness. In 1714 he was translated to the parish of Lairg, where he laboured till his death in 1753. The moral and spiritual condition of Lairg at his settlement was lamentably low, but under his fostering care a great change came over the people. He was known as *Am Ministear Laidir*, the Strong Minister, a powerful athlete who often found his strength useful in chastising obstreperous members of his flock, and taught them to respect his arm as well as his piety. In those wild times, when ministers had sometimes to go to the pulpit with a brace of

1. For our account of Captain Hugh IVa. and his descendants we are very much indebted to the *Blackcastle MS.*

pistols in their belts, he was just the man needed.[1] He m. (contract 29th August, 1709) Catherine, eldest dau. of John Mackay of Kirtomy, and had issue the four children mentioned below, besides others who d. young.

i. Rev. Thomas, minister of Lairg, of whom follows.

ii. Elizabeth, m. the Rev. Angus Sage, Locharron, and had issue:—

1. Rev. Alexr. Sage, Kildonan, whose son, the Rev. Donald Sage, was the author of *Memorabilia Domestica*, published at Wick by the Messrs Rae a few years ago. To those interested in our northern history it is delightful reading.
2. Catherine Sage, m. Captain Charles Gordon of Skelpick, with issue
3. Mary Sage, m. Donald Kennedy, Applecross, and had the Rev. George Kennedy, Dornoch, one of whose sons, the Rev. Dr. Kennedy, lately U.F. minister, Callander, is now a professor in Canada.

iii. Janet Mackay, m. John Polson, Navidale, and had issue:—

1. Captain William Polson of the Virginia Rangers, k. at the battle of Monogahela River in 1755.
2. John Polson, lieut. of the 60th Foot, afterwards major of the Gordon Highlanders. He was severely wounded at the Monogahela River, and greatly distinguished himself at the capture of Fort St. Juan, 1780, when Captain Nelson, afterwards Lord Nelson, warmly thanked him. He d. at Exeter, Devon, 1st July, 1815.
3. Hugh Polson, appointed Provost of the Vice-Admiralty Court, Jamaica, 7th December, 1774.

iv. Barbara Mackay, m. Rev. George Munro, minister of Farr 1754-80, and had issue Mary, who d. unmarried at Dornoch.

Vb. Rev. Thomas Mackay, appointed colleague and successor to his father at Lairg in 1748, and laboured in that parish with much acceptance till his death in 1803. He was a great contrast to his

1. The interested reader should consult a paper by the Rev. Dr. MacCulloch, Roseburn Free Church, Edinburgh, as an appendix to the *Wreck of the Juno*, edited by Mr. Alex. Mackay, 50 St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh. The booklet is published under the auspices of the Clan Mackay Society, and is well worthy of a large circle of north country readers.

father. He was slenderly built and of a delicate constitution. He shrank from the world's rough ways, and enjoyed solitary, mystical contemplation of Divine things. If he lacked the picturesqueness of his father he had more than his spirituality of mind, and was well suited to follow up the good work in Lairg operating in new channels. He m. Margaret, dau. of John Montgomery of Ferndonald, and had issue three sons and two daus.:

i. John Mackay of Rockfield, of whom follows.

ii. Hugh, who entered the army of the H.E.I.C. and became captain of the 4th Native Cavalry. When the Mahratha War broke out he took the field under General Wellesly, afterwards Duke of Wellington, and was temporarily appointed chief of the Commissariat, a post which he held on the eve of the battle of Assaye. At this juncture, when the small British force numbered only 1600, and had opposed to it 50,000, of whom 10,000 were disciplined and led by French officers, Captain Mackay could not brook the idea of remaining in the rear at commissariat work. On the evening before the battle of Assaye, Wellington's first great victory, he wrote the adjutant-general asking permission to join his old regiment in the impending fight, but was told that he could not be spared from his other duties. Captain Mackay realised that to disobey was to forfeit his commission at the very least, but when next day he saw his old regiment lining up with the 19th Dragoons to deliver what appeared to be a forlorn charge, he galloped to the head of his troop and led them straight for the enemy's guns. This wild charge sealed the fate of the day, but Mackay fell in the hour of victory. In Colonel Welch's *Reminiscences* it is recorded:—"By a noble act of disobedience, Mackay joined his corps; and, leading the charge of his own regiment in a line with the leading squadron of the noble veterans of the 19th Dragoons, Mackay rode up to the enemy's guns and fell, man and horse, at their very muzzles. . . . . When in the heat of the pursuit news was brought to Wellington that Captain Hugh Mackay was killed, his countenance changed, and the tears which fell from his eyes were nature's involuntary tribute to a kindred spirit. Shortly afterwards, Wellington in a dispatch did ample justice to Mackay's character."

This battle was fought on 23rd September, 1803, but twelve years later, and a few days after Waterloo, Wellington wrote John, Captain Mackay's brother, offering a commission to his

nephew as a tribute of respect to the memory of one of the heroes of Assaye. On the field where he fell there stands a monument to his memory—the only one there, we understand—erected by his admiring comrades-in-arms.

iii. William, who went to sea, wrote the *Wreck of the Juno* already referred to. This narrative greatly interested Lord Byron, and some of his finest passages in *Don Juan* descriptive of a shipwreck is based upon Mackay's account. Thomas Moore, Byron's biographer, thus writes of Mackay's production:—"It will be felt, I think, by every reader, that this is one of the instances in which poetry must be content to yield the palm to prose. There is a pathos in the last sentences of the seaman's recital which the artifices of metre and rhyme were sure to disturb, and which, indeed, no verses, however beautiful, could half so beautifully and powerfully express."

He became captain of the *Perseverance*, and afterwards of the *Daniel*. In 1801 he made a voyage up the Red Sea with stores for General Baird's army in Egypt, during which he made a splendid display of seamanship, saving the *Real Fidelissimo*, which had on board a detachment of the 86th Foot. He d. at Calcutta, unmarried, 27th March, 1804.

iv. Catherine Mackay, m. Captain Donald Mathieson of Shiness, Lairg, and had issue:—

1. Sheriff Duncan Mathieson.
2. Sir James Mathieson, who purchased the Lews.
3. Captain Thomas Mathieson of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers.

Also some daus.

VIb. JOHN MACKAY, clerk to the Hon. Commissioners for Indian Affairs. He had to retire from the Indian Service on a handsome pension owing to the loss of eyesight, and employed his leisure in the congenial task of writing the *Life of General Hugh Mackay of Scoury*, which was so well received that a second edition was almost immediately called for. He bought the estate of Little Tarrel, near Tain, and called it Rockfield. He m. Isabella, dau. of John Gordon of Carrol, but had no issue. His estate passed to his nephew, Sir James Mathieson of the Lews; and his widow left his invested money as a Fund, called the Rockfield Bequest, for

supplementing the salaries of the Free, now U.F., Church ministers of Sutherland and Strathnaver.

IIIc. ANGUS, second son of Donald Mackay IIa. of Borley. He commanded a company at Killiecrankie, where he fell. He m., first, Christina, dau. of Angus Mackay of Kinnisid, by whom he had:—Hugh, d. unmarried; John; and William, of whom follows.

He m., secondly, Anna Sinclair, who bore him four sons:—

i. Hugh, who disponed his wadset of Skinit to his brother, Donald, 1699.

ii. Donald of Skinit, afterwards in Ribigill, m. Esther Gunn, and had an elder son Angus, who had a son William in Ribigill in 1769. Donald of Skinit is also believed to have been the father of Hugh of Kirkiboll. (*See* EXCURSUS below.)

iii., *iv.* George; and John.

IVc. LIEUT. WILLIAM, third son of Angus M by his first wife. In *The House and Clan of Mackay* he is said to have been m. twice, and to have had two sons:—John, of whom follows; and

EXCURSUS.—Hugh, as "tacksman of Kirkiboll" witnessed a sasine of Rietongue, 26th April, 1740. He is believed to be the father of:—

William MacHuistean, known as Fear an Lettirmore, headman of Lettermore, who had a son, Hugh Mackay, *alias* MacWilliam MacHuistean, according to the Durness register. The latter Hugh m. Mary Clarke, and had issue:—

Hugh Mackay, J.P., tacksman of Kinlochbervie, who m. Margaret Annan Scot, and d. 5th August, 1869, at Kinlochbervie. For his issue, etc., see our brochure, *The Family of Mackay of Sandwood and Kinlochbervie*, issued by Phillimore & Co., 124 Chancery Lane, London.

George, an exciseman in Greenock, about 1818, who afterwards lived at Stewart-Hall, Bute, but had no issue.

Ve. JOHN MACKAY, a surgeon at Armadale, Farr, witnessed a document among the Reay Papers, dated 13th June, 1769. He afterwards settled at Falsaid, Tongue, and m. Margaret, dau. of John Polson of Rogart, with issue one son and two daus.:—

i. William, of whom follows.

ii. Bessie Mackay, m. Hugh Mackay of Dalangdale, Strathy, but no issue.

iii. Jane Mackay, m. Robert Mackay, an Aberach, and had issue an only dau., Euphemia Mackay, who m. Peter Smith, a Glasgow merchant, and had issue:—Robert Mackay Smith, a great patron of science (*See* a paper by Prof. Swan in the *Proceedings of the Royal Soc.*, Edinburgh, 15th May, 1889); George Mackay Smith; Jane Mackay Smith; Euphemia Smith; Peter Smith; Isabella (Mrs. Suverkrop), d. 1903; and Elizabeth.

VIc. WILLIAM, m. 4th March, 1784, Jane, dau. of Kenneth Scobie, Achimore, by his wife, a dau. of the tutor of Farr. He emigrated to Prince Edward's Island in 1806, and d. there in 1826. Some time after his arrival in Prince Edward's Island, and while Britain was at war with France, he raised a company of Colonial Highlanders of which he became captain. He had issue ten sons and two daus., but the only child who survived to have issue was John, of whom follows.

VIIc. JOHN MACKAY, was born in Scotland, 13th February, 1800, m. in Prince Edward's Island Sibla, dau. of Lieut. John Mackenzie. He emigrated in 1838 to New South Wales, and d. at Newcastle there, 11th November, 1851, leaving issue four sons and four daus.:—

i. George, of whom follows.

ii. John Kenneth, grazier, Dungog, N.S. Wales, b. 1828, m. Isabella

Hooke, issue two sons:—John Kenneth; and William H., grazier, Anambah, West Maitland, N.S. Wales, m. his cousin Adelaide, dau. of Augustus Hooke by Louisa Barbara Mackay, with issue (William; John; Emily; and Violet).

iii. Duncan Forbes Mackay, who d. at Dulcalmah, N.S.W., 1887, m. Lenora Hooke, issue seven children:—Duncan; Louis; Ada (Mrs. George Peele); Mary Anne; Agnes; Alma; and Ethel.

iv. Charles Boyce Mackay, b. 5th January, 1837, a stockman, Dungog, m. Alice Cutler, and has two sons and five daus.:—Charles; Kenneth; Anne; Amelia; Alice Margaret; Louisa; and Eva Augusta.

v. Jane Mackay, m. Vincent T. W. Dowling, Cannigalla, N.S. Wales, and had issue:—Vincent; James; John; Alfred; Maria; Eliza; Emily; and Sybla.

vi. Jessie Johanna Mackay, m. George James Cobb, Anambah, and had issue:—John; George, m. a Miss Campbell; Charles, m. a Miss Campbell; Kenneth; Emily; and Sarah.

vii. Amelia Caroline Mackay, m. Edward Sparke, Hexam, N.S. Wales, of the firm of "Sparke & Clift." She d. in 1888, leaving issue:—William; John; Emma; Ellen; Mary; Alma; and Edith.

viii. Louisa Barbara Mackay, m. Augustus Hooke, and has issue:—Augustus; Adelaide, m. Wm. H. Mackay, her cousin; Sybella; and Louisa

VIIIc. George Mackay, grazier, Dungog, born in 1821, and d. about 1900. He m. Jane Scott Macdonald-Cooper, widow of Dr. John Cooper, and left issue one son and three daus.:—

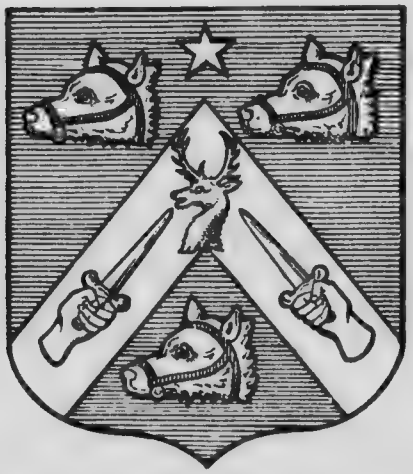
i. George Alexander, of whom follows.

ii. Sybla J. Mackay, m. Frederick A. Hooke, Dingadee, N.S. Wales, 18th November, 1874, and has issue:—John; George; Frederick; Alexander; Benjamin; Harold; James; Mary; and Augustus.

iii., iv. Mary; and Anne.

IXc. George Alexander Mackay, grazier, Melbee, Dungog, one of the leading men in that part of N.S. Wales, and foremost in works that tend to the religious and social welfare of his countrymen. Long may the Scoury Mackays of N.S. Wales maintain the credit of the old house by a worthy bearing, such as has hitherto characterised them.

III. The Bighouse Mackays.



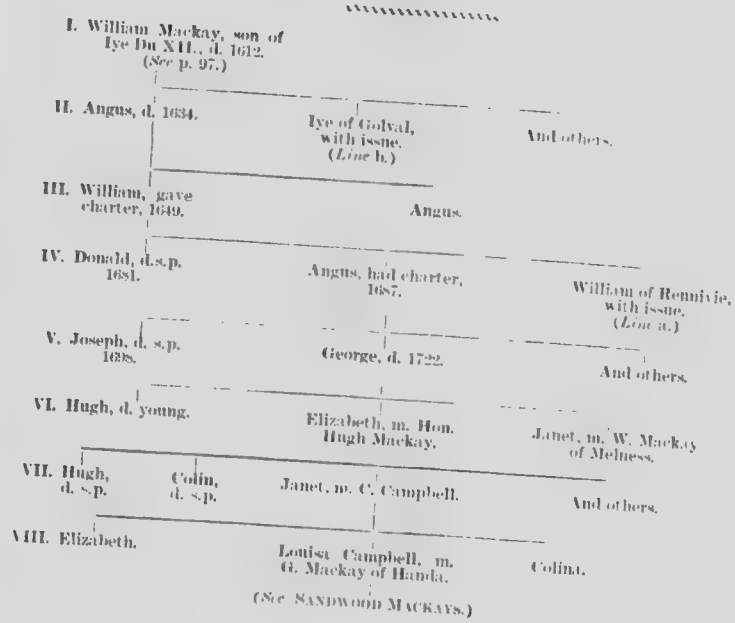
SHIELD OF MACKAY OF BIGHOUSE, C. 1680.
(FRASER'S *Funeral Escutcheons.*)

I. WILLIAM MACKAY, son of Iye Du XII. of Strathnaver by his wife, Christina Sinclair, was the first of t' [illegible]mily. During the troubled minority and early reign of King [illegible]es VI., when the northern people did very much as they pleased, William was often on the war-path. As we show in our memoir of his brother, Huistean Du of Strathnaver, he led the Mackays on La Tom Fraoich, fighting the Sutherlands from morning till nightfall, and next morning at day-break, being joined by the Gunns, practically exterminated a strong force of Sinclairs that was advancing in concert with the

Sutherlands. Sir Robert Gordon refers to various other encounters in which William bore a part. The Murrays who got possession of the lands of Strathhalladale in 1430—lands which the Mackays held at that time by charter from the Lord of the Isles—he harried so

TABLE E.

Key Pedigree.



mercilessly that they had to abandon the strath altogether. On the 14th September, 1592, Rory Murray of Bighouse complained to the Privy Council:—

> That upon the 20th September, 1587, William Mackay "with certan brokin hieland men, to the noumer of personis or

thairby," came to the lands of Bighouse or Strathhalladale and "ejected the said complenaris wyffe and bairnis furth of the said houssis, Quhairthrou thay being strangearis in that cuntrey . . . at last miserablie deit throu hunger in the mountane." Further, the said William Mackay "hes continuallie sensyne withhaldin and possest the said complenaris hous and rowme, and hes banist himself the cuntry swa that he dar nocht repair thairunto for feir of his lyffe" *(P.C Reg.)*.

Eventually[1] Murray alienated these lands to William Mackay for 1000 merks on 18th July, 1597, and on the 18th December, 1598, the latter secured the estate by a charter of confirmation under the Great Seal. William, who d. in 1612, m. Isabella, dau. of Rorie Mackenzie[2] of Ardfalie, afterwards of Redcastle, by a dau. of Munro of Fowlis *(Bighouse Inventory)*. Their known issue was three sons and two daus. :—

i. Angus, who succeeded, and of whom follows.

ii. Iye of Golval, of whom afterwards as IIb.

The other children are said to have been :— Donald ; Ann, m. Adam Gordon of Kilcalumkill ; and Marian.

II. Angus, duly succeeded his father in the lands of Strathhalladale, and on the 2nd May, 1631, obtained from the 1st Lord Reay the churchlands of Balnaheglis and Goval with the salmon fishings of Halladale water, in perpetual fee for the annual payment of 17/4 *(Bighouse Inventory)*. He m., first, Jane Elphingstone (niece of Lord Elphingstone), who d. in 1630, and was buried in Kirkton Chapel, Strathhalladale, leaving issue. He m., secondly,

1. In the Bighouse Inventory the following item appears :—" Decreet of Reduction at the instance of Alexr. Murray, brother and heir of the unql. Alexander Murray of Spenziedale, agt. Donald McAngus McAlister of Glengarry, nearest and lawful heir of Donald Isles of Lochalsh, knight, Goodames brother—reducing a service and infeftment upon the lands of Bighouse, Forse, Trantills, etc., in prejudice of the said Alexr. Murray, the decreet dated 20th Jan., 1579."

It may be that the service and infeftment referred to above were obtained by Glengarry in virtue of the rights held over these lands by the Lord of the Isles, whose representative Glengarry claimed to be. When in due process this infeftment failed, the Mackays seem to have taken the law into their own hands and to have driven the Murrays out.

2. Rorie Mackenzie was a son of Kenneth, 11th of Kintail, by a dau. of the Earl of Athole (Macfarlane's *Collections*).

Jane, dau. of Sir Alexr. Gordon of Navidale. He d. of witchcraft in 1634, as Sir Robert Gordon gravely informs us. His known issue was:—William, of whom follows; Angus, who had a bond from his brother William on 12th May, 1643 (*Caithness Sheriff Records*).

III. WILLIAM, was appointed one of the Committee of War for the shire of Sutherland by the Scots Parliament in 1648. Towards the close of that year he accompanied John, afterwards 2nd Lord Reay, on the expedition which ended so disastrously at Balveny, and not long thereafter resigned his estate to his eldest son. He m. Jane, dau. of John Mackay of Strathy, and had known issue four sons and one dau.:—

i. Donald, had a charter of the family lands from his father, 14th September, 1649, "to be halden of the said William, and redeemable for payment of ten merks within the church of Reay" (*Bighouse Inventory*). He d. without issue.

ii. Angus, who succeeded his brother, and of whom follows.

iii. John, witnessed a sasine of Strathhalladale, 20th December, 1667.

iv. William of Rennivie, of whom afterwards as IVa.

v. Mary, m. John Gunn of Braemore, and had sasine of Braemore, 29th August, 1687, in virtue of her marriage contract.

IV. ANGUS, was served heir to his brother Donald, 21st July 1681, (*Chancery Record*), and had a charter of the estate under the Great Seal, 1st July, 1687, in favour of himself and his spouse Jane Sinclair in life-rent, and of Joseph Mackay their eldest lawful son in fee, whom failing to George their second son (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*). He m. Jane, dau. of Patrick Sinclair of Ulbster; and they are both buried in the Bighouse Aisle, Reay, where a slab in the wall shows the arms of husband and wife. The issue of this marriage was:—

i. Joseph, m. Helen, dau. of General Sir George Mu[illegible] of Culrain, 20th July, 1692, and d. without issue in 1698 (*Bighouse Inventory*).

ii. George, who succeeded his elder brother, and of whom follows.

iii. Rachel, m. John Munro of Eriboll, and had sasine in life-rent of the lands of Eriboll, 2nd February, 1688.

iv. Elizabeth, m. George Mackay of Kinloch, and had sasine in life rent of Kinloch, 11th June, 1712.

v. Ann, m. Alexander Fraser of Erogie, and had sasine in life-rent of Erogie in Dores, Inverness-shire, 6th June, 1700.

V. GEORGE, served heir to his brother Joseph, 19th January, 1699, had sasine of the estate on 14th May, 1706, and m. Catherine, dau. of William Ross of Kindace in 1704. He d. in 172[illegible], issue one son and two daus. :—

i. Hugh, d. young.

ii. Elizabeth, of whom follows.

iii. Janet, m. William Mackay of Melness, and had issue (*See* MELNESS MACKAYS).

VI. ELIZABETH, m. in 1728 Lieut.-Col. the Hon. Hugh Mackay, son of the 3rd Lord Reay, and d. 31st March, 1769, having borne five children. Her husband had sasine of Strathhalladale on 5th October, 1744, having bought up the encumbrances upon the estate. He m., secondly, Isabella, dau. of Alexander Mackenzie of Lentran, 14th April, 1770, and d. at Bath without issue by his second marriage on 12th November of that year. The issue of the first marriage was :—

i. Ensign Hugh Mackay, d. unmarried in early life.

ii. Colin, d. in infancy.

iii. Janet, m. Colin Campbell of Glenure, who was murdered by one of the Stewarts of Ardshiel in 1752. Her issue was three daus. :—

1. Elizabeth Campbell, d. young.
2. Louisa Campbell, inherited $\frac{1}{4}$ of the estate of Bighouse,

and m. George Mackay of Ha 'a, who purchased the remainder of the estate, and was afterwards known as of Bighouse. She had issue (*See* SANDWOOD MACKAYS).

3. Colina Campbell, m. James Bailie, merchant in Bristol and Granada, and M.P. for Horsham.

iv. Mary, m. Wi. . Bailie of Roschall, and d. his widow at Peterhead in 1808. They had issue seven sons and two daus.:—Mackay Hugh Bailie, Colonel of the Reay Fencibles, and afterwards Major-General; George; John; Simon; Charles; Lamington; Evan, afterwards Sir Evan, a Major General of the Bengal Army; Elizabeth, m. Roderick Mackenzie of Fairburn; and Catherine, m. Captain James Sutherland of Oldany.

v. Marion, m. the 5th Lord Reay as his first wife, and d. without issue.

vi. Robina, d. unmarried at Harrogate, 10th August, 1762.

IVa. WILLIAM MACKAY of Rennivie, Farr, son of William 3rd of Bighouse, granted sasine of Rennivie to his elder brother Angus in security for 1000 merks, 3rd March, 1631. He was alive in 1694. He m. , and had known issue two sons:—

Angus, of whom follows; and Donald, who witnessed a sasine of Rennivie, 30th May, 1709.

Va. ANGUS, "as eldest lawful son and apparent heir of the deceased William Mckay," had sasine on a tack of Rennivie in security for a loan of 3000 merks to Lord Strathnaver, 13th March, 1700. He m. (contract 1st June, 1704) Ann, dau. of Hector Mackay of Skerray (*See* STRATHY MACKAYS). His widow, in virtue of her marriage contract, had sasine of Rennivie on 30th May, 1709. Their known issue was two sons and a dau.:—

i. William, served heir male to his deceased cousin, George 5th of Bighouse (*Chancery Record*, 5th August, 1728), disponed his rights over said estate, his brother Angus consenting, to John Mackay of Clashneach on 16th March, 1728, who in turn conveyed these rights to the Hon. Hugh Mackay, husband of Elizabeth of Bighouse.

ii. Angus, mentioned above. His tombstone in Farr churchyard bears the inscription, "Here lyes the body of Angus Mackay of Rennivie, who dyed the 4 day of Jannivary, 1737." The arms of Mackay are beautifully carved on the stone.

"Angus Mackay of Rennivie, wadsetter," appeared as a commissioner at a meeting of the Tongue Presbytery, 24th March, 1756. He was probably a son of the above Angus, but further we cannot trace this family in the male line.

iii. Marion, m. James Mackay, tacksman of Skerray, and had issue three sons and four daus. :—

1. Angus, a merchant in London.
2. Major-General Alexander, Adjutant-General of the Forces in Scotland, d. at Edinburgh in 1809 without issue.
3. George, d. unmarried.
4. Elizabeth (*See* EXCURSUS below).
5. Ann, second wife of William Mackay of Melness, no issue.
6. Janet, m. Donald Mackay of Borgie, and had issue (*See* STRATHY MACKAYS).
7. Bessie, m. Major Donald Mackay of Eriboll, and had issue (*See* ABERACH MACKAYS).

EXCURSUS.—Elizabeth, m. Hector Mackay, Clashadie, Tongue, and had issue as follows :—

Alexander, an officer of the H.E.I.C., died s.p.; John, of the H.E.I.C., died s.p.; and Donald, of whom follows :—

Donald in Lamigo, Tongue, m. Isabella Mackay, and had the following issue :—Hector, d. in Melbourne, 1857, leaving issue; and Hugh, of whom follows :—

Hugh Mackay, merchant in Lamigo, m. Catherine Ross, and d. about 1877 leaving issue :— John, d. in Edinburgh leaving one son; Christina (Mrs John Mackay), in Edinburgh; Alexandrina (Mrs. William Mackay), Skerray; and Isabella (Mrs. Donald Mackay), Lamigo. All the daus. are living and have issue.

IIb. IYE MACKAY of Golval, son of William 1st of Bighouse, had sasine of Golval and Strath, 6th March, 1633. m. Margaret, dau. of John Gordon of Sidera, and had issue:—William, of whom follows; Angus, m. Mary, dau. of Walter Innes, Skail, Reay, 20th August, 1670; Christina, m. Donald, son of Neil Williamson Aberach; and Isabella, m. Donald Forbes, Auchentoft.

IIIb. REV. WILLIAM, minister of Rogart, was served heir to his father Iye on the 29th July, 1663 (*Chancery Record*), and m. Margaret, dau. of David Sutherland of Morvich, who bore him as follows:—

i. Rev Iye, minister of Clyne, m. Catherine, dau. of Patrick Dunbar of Sidera, and had a son Patrick Mackay served heir to his father in 1730.

ii. William of Forsinain. His tombstone in the church-yard of Reay bears the inscription, "Here lyes the body of ane honest gentleman, Wm. Mackay, Forsinain, who departed this life 1720;" and as the shields of Mackay and Sinclair are carved on the stone, we conclude that he was m. to a Sinclair.

iii. Jane, m., first, Alexr. Sutherland of Morvich, and had sasine of the lands of Morvich in life-rent, 27th February, 1686. She m., secondly, Alexr. Sutherland of Breygrudie, and had sasine of Breygrudie in life-rent, 18th May, 1693. By her first husband she had a dau. Jane Sutherland, who m. the poet John Mackay of Strathan-Melness, 3rd June, 1712, the last of the clan Erchar Mackays whom we have been able to trace.

The other children of the Rev. William were:—David of Pitfure; Angus; and Mary (*Sas. Reg.*).

IV. The Strathy Mackays.

BOOKPLATE OF JOHN, 5TH OF STRATHY.

I. JOHN MACKAY, son of Huistean Du XIII. of Strathnaver by his wife, Lady Jane Gordon, was the first of this branch. He had a disposition from his brother, the 1st Lord Reay, of the lands of Braegall in Caithness, viz., Dilred, Cattack, Dalmore, Knockdhu, Daluachrach, Dalreith, etc., 23rd September, 1626, which was duly

confirmed by charter afterwards *(Blk. MS.)*. The said Lord Reay also granted to the said John Mackay of Dilred in life-rent, and to Hugh Mackay his eldest son in fee and heritage, the lands of Strathy, Armadale, Portskerray, and Glen of Kinloch-Strathy with fishings of the river, 2nd May, 1631. He m. in 1618 Agnes, dau. of Sir James Sinclair of Murkle, and d. in 1645 leaving the following five children:—Hugh, of whom follows; John of Skerray, of whom

TABLE F.

Key Pedigree.

I. John, son of Huistean Du XIII. *(See p. 97)*.

II. Hugh of Strathy, d. 1689 c.	John of Skerray. *(Line a.)*		James of Kirtomy *(Line c)*
III. John, had sns. 1702.	Hector, had sns. 1679.	Hugh of Cairnloch. *(Line b.)*	John, had sns 1692.
IV. Hugh, gave sns. 1716.	Donald, 1723.	Robert, d 1754.	John of Borgie, d. 1750
V. John, disponed Strathy, 1759.		John d 179..	Donald of Borgie
VI.		Francis, d. 1842.	Captain John, d 1808
VII.		John, b. 1818, left issue.	

afterwards as Ia.; James of Kirtomy, of whom afterwards as IIc.; Elizabeth, m. (contract 20th February, 1640) Patrick Sinclair, eldest son of John Sinclair of Brims, and had issue *(See* Henderson's *Caithness Families)*; and Jane, m. William Mackay III. of Bighouse *(See* BIGHOUSE MACKAYS).

II. HUGH MACKAY, succeeded, in 1645 on his father's death, and m. the Hon. Jane Mackay, dau. of the 2nd Lord Reay and widow of the Hon. Robert Gordon of Langdale, to whom he gave sasine in

life-rent of the lands of Strathy, 3rd March, 1676. He disponed the lands of Braegall to John Sinclair of Ulbster, 8th May, 1681, and d. between 1688 and 1690 leaving two known children:—John, of whom follows; and Ann, "eldest dau." m. John Mackay, Portskerray, to whom she bore an elder son Donald.

III. John Mackay, m. Elizabeth, dau. of John Sinclair of Brims, Caithness, issue the following four sons all mentioned in a heritable bond by the 2nd Lord Reay, on which he had sasine reg. 1st July, 1702:—

i. Hugh, of whom follows.

ii. George, m. (contract 20th September, 1710) Barbara, dau. of William Sinclair of Thrumster, with issue Hugh of Dalangdale who d. without issue.

iii. John, became major of Benticks' Foot, 24th December, 1755 (*Scots Mag.*).

iv. William, witnessed a sasine of Strathy reg. 30th August, 1717. In the *House of Mackay* he is said to have m. a dau. of John Mackay of Ki my, who bore him a son Hugh, who had a son John—the lat . solicitor in Inverness, 1829.

IV. Hugh Mackay, m., first, Barbara, dau. of Patrick Murray of Scotscalder, Halkirk, to whom he gave sasine in life-rent of the lands of Armadale, 11th August, 1716, issue five sons:—

John, who succeeded and of whom follows: George; Patrick; James; and Hugh. The four latter sons are all mentioned in a bond of Provision by their father, 23rd October, 1721 (*Caithness Sheriff Records*).

He m., secondly, Jane, dau. of William Budge, Toftingall, Watten, to whom he gave sasine in life-rent of Strathy lands, 8th February, 1726. He d. before 1729.

V. John Mackay, m. Janet (who d. at Strathy, 19th May, 1775), dau. of William Sinclair of Scotscalder, issue four children.

JOHN MACKAY, 8TH OF STRATHY.

FROM A PORTRAIT IN THE POSSESSION OF MR SCOBIE, DUNNESS, SUTHERLAND

In 1779 he disponed the estate of Strathy to his grandson William Honeyman, and d. at Geise, near Thurso, 29th September, 1783 (*Blk. MS.*). His children were:—

i. Hugh, had sasine of Armedale, 28th September, 1752, and d. soon after (*Blk. MS.*).

ii. Captain John, of the Earl of Sutherland's Highlanders, 1760, d. at Strathy, 6th September, 1772 (*Scots Mag.*).

iii. Margaret, m. Patrick Honeyman of Graemsay, Orkney, issue:—Janet; Barbara; and William. William Honeyman, appointed one of the senators of the College of Justice, 5th January 1807, was created a baronet 12th May, 1804 (*Blk. MS.*). Sir [illegible] Honeyman sold the estate of Strathy to the Marquis of Stafford, 23rd February, 1813, for £25,000.

iv. Barbara, m. Major John Scobie of the Reay Fencibles (son of the Rev. Wm. Scobie, Assynt), tacksman of Melness, and d. at Keoldale, 1818, issue four children:—

1. Captain Mackay John Scobie of the H.E.I.C., m. Bessie, dau. of Major Donald Mackay of Eriboll, with issue (*See* ABERACH MACKAYS).
2. Captain Kenneth Scobie of the Royal Marines.
3. Janet Scobie, m. Lieut. John Mackenzie, Badnabay, with issue:—Lieut. Robert Mackenzie, Borgie; and Louisa (*See* EXCURSUS below).

EXCURSUS.—Louisa Mackenzie, m. in 1816 George Mackay, merchant, Scoury, and that year emigrated to Cape Breton, and thence to Upper Canada, where she d. in 1859, leaving living issue four dans.:—Johanna, of whom follows; Janet, m. Sheriff Ross, Woodstock, Ontario; Christina, m. Alexr. Mackay, Woodstock; and Anne (Mrs. Peter Cleland).

Johanna Mackay, m. in 1836 Roderick, son of John Macdonald of Scorraig, Ross, issue:—Louisa, of whom follows; Georgina, m. Dr. Fergus Black with issue (Roderick; Davidson; Norman Fergus; and Mary Johanna).

Louisa Macdonald, m. in 1862 Dr. David Mark Dibble, Canada, with surviving issue as follows:—

Mary Louisa Dibble, m. W. Wilfred Campbell, a well-known Canadian poet, with issue:—Marjory; Faith; Basil; and Dorothy.

4. Jane Scobie, m. Captain Angus Mackay, Rogart, issue:—John S. Mackay, d. in Jamaica; and Barbara, m. Robert Leith, Culgower.

IIa. JOHN MACKAY of Skerray, son of Hugh Mackay I. of Strathy, was captured at Balveny in 1649, appointed a commissioner of supply for the shire of Sutherland in 1685 and again in 1690 *(Records of Parl.)*. He obtained in wadset the town and lands of Skerray-Horisdale, port and strath thereof, 28th November, 1659, and m. Margaret, dau. of Hector Munro of Eriboll. He was alive in 1709, and had four known children:—

i. John, d. without issue before 1679.

ii. Hector, of whom follows.

iii. Donald, a notary public in Skerray, Strathan-Tongue, and afterwards in Ribigill, had a wadset of Kinnisid in 1702, and m. Margaret Munro, with known issue two sons:—Hugh, elder son, who inherited the wadset of Kinnisid *(Reay Papers)*; and John, merchant in Inverness, m. 5th December, 1717, Jean, dau. of John Barbour of Aldowry, issue nine children—one of whom was Donald Mackay, b. 1730, tacksman of Dorrery, Halkirk, m. Barbara Macpherson with issue:—Robert in Brawlbin, of whom follows; Donald, b. 1765, d. in America; Roderick, in Watten, b. 1770, m. Margaret Mackay with issue (Donald; Robert, whose only dau. Margaret is now m. to the Rev. Donald Brims, U.F., Keiss; David; Barbara; and Elspat):—

Robert Mackay in Brawlbin, b. 1764, and d. 1810, m. first, Elspat Macdonald, issue three daus., viz., Katherine, m. Alexr. Brims, solicitor, Thurso; Barbara (Mrs. Alexr. Jack, Thurso); and Elspat. He m., secondly, Isabel Gunn, with issue:—Anne, d. unmarried; John, d. young; Donald, m. Christina Falconer (whose children Robert; William; David; John; Isabella; Christina;

Katherine; and Barbara all emigrated to New Zealand); Robert, d. unmarried; and David, of whom follows.

David Mackay, merchant, Thurso, who d. in 1876, m. Christiana Brims, and left issue:—Alexander, solicitor and banker, Thurso; Robert, d. without issue; David, in San Francisco; Katherine (Mrs. Donald Swanson, South Africa); Isabel; Christina; Anne; and Jane.

iv. Hugh of Cairnloch, of whom afterwards as IIIb.

IIIa. Hector Mackay, had sasine of Skerray, 7th March, 1679, on a Precept of *clare constat* as heir to his deceased brother John. He m. Barbara, dau. of Captain William Mackay of Borley, who had sasine in life-rent of Skerray, 22nd February, 1686, issue six children:—

i. Donald, of whom follows.

ii. John of Clashneach, factor for the 3rd Lord Reay, and a large dealer. He m. Catherine, dau of William Mackay of Strathan-Melness (*See* Aberach Mackays), and had known issue four children:—

1. Colonel Hugh, planter in Jamaica, afterwards tacksman of Balnakiel, m., first, Francis de la Rue, issue:—Isabella, m. Hugh, son of Robert Mackay, tutor of Farr. Colonel Hugh m., secondly, Janet Sutherland, issue a large family, but the only one who left issue was Caroline, who m. Captain John Mackay VIc. of Borgie, and afterwards of Skerray.
2. John, witnessed a sasine of Rennivie, 30th August, 1757.
3. Isobel, m. John, son of Kenneth Sutherland of Keoldale, issue:—Harriot.
4. Mary, m. Donald Mackay, Clashneach, with issue.

iii., iv. Angus, "third lawful son," tacksman of Kinloch; and George.

The daus. were:—Barbara, m. John Munro, Skinit; and Ann, m. Angus Mackay of Rennivie (*See* Bighouse Mackays).

IVa. Donald Mackay, resigned the wadset of Skerray, to Lord Reay, 17th May, 1723. He m. , and had known issue:—

Hector, "eldest lawful son;" and a dau., who m. John Mackay of Moudale (*See* ABERACH MACKAYS).

IIIb. HUGH MACKAY of Cairnloch, as "Hugh Mackay lawful son of John Mackay of Skerray," witnessed a deed by Hector his brother, 22nd February, 1686. He is said to have m., first, Christina, dau. of Robert Aberach Mackay, and secondly, Margaret, dau. of Patrick Sinclair of Ulbster. He removed to Caithness, and had issue[1] as follows:—

i. John, m. Mrs. Janet Ross, and had an only dau.:—Elizabeth, m. Captain John Sutherland of the Caithness Horse, and d. at Dunbeath in 1822.

ii. James, d. unmarried at Dun, Watten, 1754.

iii. Robert, of whom follows.

iv. Francis, in Bruan, m. Catherine, dau. of James Calder of Lynegar, Watten, with issue:—Francis, m. May, dau. of the Rev. David Dunbar, Olrig, no issue; Robert, whose son Robert was m. in Bristol, 1806; and Anne, m. William Heron, merchant, Glasgow.

IVb. ROBERT MACKAY, Clyth, m. in 1718 Janet, dau. of George Edwards, Persie, Forfar, and d. at Clyth in 1754, leaving two children:—John, of whom follows; and Janet, m. David Geddes, Occumster, no issue.

Vb. JOHN MACKAY, m. in 1758 Janet, dau. of John Donaldson, tacksman of Ulbster, and d. in 179? (when his widow and family removed to Edinburgh) leaving issue:—

i. Robert, d. unmarried, 1792.

1. The *Blk. MS.* is our authority for the descent from Hugh down to c. 1840.

ii. John, in Edinburgh, m. Jane Dunlop, and d. in 1840 leaving issue:—Dr. John, d. unmarried, 1854; Lieut. Walter of the H.E.I.C., d. 1827; Robert, d. 1884; James, m. Elizabeth Lewis, but d. without issue; Janet, m. Thomas Plews, chemist, York, and d. in 1838 leaving four sons; Agnes, m. Francis Stainsford, merchant, Newcastle, with issue; and Jane, m. William Forester, a medical officer of the H.E.I.C., Madras.

iii. Francis, of whom follows.

iv. James, d. unmarried in 1837.

v. Alexander of Blackcastle, F.S.A.S., purchased Blackcastle, near Edinburgh, 1823, m. in 1799 Isabella, dau. of William Curor, Ettrickbank, and by her had an only son, of whom follows:—

John Alexander Mackay, m. in 1833 Penelope, dau. of John Macmillan Macneil of Carskey, Argyle, and left issue:—Colonel Forbes Mackay of Carskey, m. in 1865 Margaret Isabella, dau. of Prof. Cosmo Innes, with issue (Ian; Cosmo, Malcolm; Hugh Rose; Ian; Alister; and Frank); Jane Martha, m. Douglas John, son of the Rev. Douglas Macdonald, Sanda, with issue; Penelope Ann, m. Rev. Colin Campbell, D.D., Dundee, no issue.

vi. Ann, m. in 1785 Alexander Sutherland, merchant, Edinburgh, and had issue a son John.

vii. Janet, m. in 1794 James Macgregor of Fonab, Perthshire, head of the family of Roro, no issue.

VIb. Francis Mackay, b. 1776, m. first, Miss Peddie, no surviving issue. He m., secondly, Margaret, dau. of William Thomson, Peebles, and d. in 1842 leaving issue:—Francis, d. young; John, of whom follows; James, wholesale chemist, d. at Edinburgh unmarried, 1890; Robert, in the civil employment of the H.E.I.C., d. unmarried, 1846; Elizabeth; and Jane. The last two d. unmarried.

VIIb. John Mackay, b. 1818, manufacturing chemist in Edinburgh, m. Agnes, dau. of John Christie of Burnhouse, Portobello, with following issue:—

i. John Christie, C.E., Melbourne, m. in 1882 Sarah T. Barrow, with issue.

ii. William Bailey, wholesale chemist, Edinburgh, m. in 1884 Ellen, dau. of James Lindsay, W.S., Leith, and has one dau.

iii. George Duncan, wholesale chemist, Edinburgh, m. in 1880 Hannah, dau. of the late Humphries N. Goulding of Hyde Park House, Cork, and has issue. One of his sons is Lieut. Humphries G. Mackay of the Cameron Highlanders.

iv. James Francis, W.S., Edinburgh, m. in 1886 Annie, dau. of the late David Croal of Southfield, Midlothian, with issue.

v. Margaret, m. Rev. Peter Thomson, D.D., Dunning, with issue.

vi. Agnes Steele, m. in 1883 David Pringle of the Edinburgh Roperie and Sailcloth Co., Leith, with issue.

Also Francis, who d. young; and Mary, who d. unmarried at Edinburgh, 1896.

IIc. James Mackay of Kirtomy, son of John Mackay I. of Strathy, had sasine on a contract of wadset, 6th July, 1670, of the four pennylands of Kirtomy and the two pennylands of Swordlie. He m. Mary, dau. of the Hon. Sir James Fraser of Brae, son of Simon, Lord Lovat, and had known issue three children:—

i. John, of whom follows.

ii. James of Borgiemore, had a wadset of Borgiemore of which he took sasine, 15th September, 1705. He m. Elizabeth, dau. of Rev. D. Munro, Reay, and had issue:—Margaret, heiress of Borgie, who m. her cousin, Ensign James Mackay, younger of Kirtomy, as will appear.

iii. Madeline, m. John Fearn, Balchladich.

IIIc. John Mackay, had a Precept of *clare constat* as heir to his deceased father in the wadset of Kirtomy, 22nd November, 1692, and

in 1704 obtained Farr also in wadset. He m. Elizabeth, dau. of John Sinclair of Lybster, and d. at Badinloch in December, 1732, leaving issue :—

i. James, Ensign of Cunningham's regiment, m. his cousin, Margaret Mackay of Borgie, 8th December, 1724, and d. without issue soon after.

ii. John, of whom follows.

iii. George, a writer in Thurso, had a son William, whose son Robert rose to the rank of lieut. general in the H.E.I.C. The said general retired from the army in 1823, and died at Honfleur, France, 10th September, 1833, leaving a widow and family (*Ben Reay Notes*).

iv. Catherine, m. Rev. John Mackay, Lairg (*See* SCOURY MACKAYS).

v. Mary, first wife of Alexander Gunn of Badinloch and Wester Helmsdale, chieftain of Gunn. They had a dau. Mary, who m. Major Hugh Mackay of Rearchar, Dornoch (*See* SANDWOOD MACKAYS).

vi. Elizabeth, m. Rev. Alexander Sutherland, Halkirk, and had issue.

vii. Jane, m. at Badinloch, 18th March, 1731, Rev. William Scobie, Assynt, issue :—Kenneth Scobie, Achimore; Rev. William Scobie, Wick; and Major John Scobie, Melness, of the Reay Fencibles.

viii. Janet, m. Robert Mackay, tutor Farr, with issue (*See* SANDWOOD MACKAYS),

IVc. JOHN MACKAY of Borgie, served heir to his cousin [and sister-in-law] in the wadset of Borgie, 10th February, 1739 (*Chancery Record*). He m. first, a dau. of Provost Fraser, Inverness, and, secondly, Jane, dau. of Donald Mackay of Farr (*See* SANDWOOD MACKAYS). To his second wife he gave sasine in life-rent "of one half of the town and lands of Borgiemore, shealing and arable lands of Polruskane, with power to her to take possession of and dwell in the house of Borgie at the first term of Whitsunday after his death."

He d. in 1750 leaving two sons:—Donald, of whom follows; and Captain James of the Earl of Sutherland's regiment of 1760, who resided in Thurso, but afterwards went to London, where he m. leaving issue.

Vc. DONALD MACKAY of Borgie, m. a dau. of James Mackay, tacksman of Skerray, and had issue:—John, of whom follows; James; and Elizabeth, m. Captain William Mackay of Skail *(See* ABERACH MACKAYS).

VIc. JOHN MACKAY of Borgie and Skerray, captain of the Tongue company of Sutherland Militia, m. Caroline, dau. of Colonel Hugh Mackay of Balnakeil, grandson of Hector Mackay IIIa., and d. in 1808, leaving issue:—

i. Hugh, studying for the ministry, d. in 1816.

ii. James, who obtained a tack of Skerray, 1818.

iii., iv. Donald; and Isabella. They both d. young.

v. Janet, m. Lieut. Robert Mackenzie, son of Lieut. Mackenzie of Badnabay by his wife, a grand-daughter of John Mackay V. of Strathy. Lieut. Robert Mackenzie held Borgie in tack until about 1865, and d. in Skerray about 10 years thereafter. His issue was:—John; Mackay; Hugh; James; a dau. m. Rev. Mr. Fraser, Granton; and a dau. m. a Mackay, sheep-farmer in Assynt. Most of the sons emigrated to Canada and Australia, and some of them married.

V. The Melness Mackays.

I. Angus Mackay, son of the 1st Lord Reay by his wife, Lady Mackenzie, was lieut.-col. of a Scots regiment in the service of Denmark (Spalding *Memorials*). He m. (contract 1 May, 1659) Catherine, dau. of Alexr. Gunn of Killearnan by his wife Dame Mary Mackay, Dowager Lady Fowlis and dau. of Huistean Du XIII. of Strathnaver, to whom he gave sasine in life-rent of the lands of Froskil, 26 Dec., 1665. He was alive in 1699, but died before 1703, and had known issue a son, of whom follows :—

II. John of Melness, m. (contract 26 July, 1699) Isobel, dau. of Captain Wm. Mackay of Borley (*See* Scoury Mackays), and on 27 July, 1699, gave her sasine of Froskil. As an elder of the Kirk he took a prominent part in the religious work and life of his day (*Presbytery Record of Tongue*). According to the "Ben Reay Notes," he had two sons and two daus. :—

i. William, of whom follows.

ii. John, Strathan-Tongue, of whom afterwards as IIIb.

The daus were Isabella and Marion, one of whom m. James Mackay of Hope (*See* Excursus below).

Excursus.—The dau. who m. James Mackay of Hope had Donald, of whom follows :—

Donald of Hope, an elder of the Kirk (*Presbytery Record* of Tongue, 20 June, 1776), m. a sister of James Mackay, tacksman of Skerray, and had issue as follows :—

George of Hope; Hugh; and a dau. m. Angus Mackay, Hope, to whom she bore Isabella, of whom follows :—

Isabella Mackay, m. William Mackay, Hope, who served in the Reay

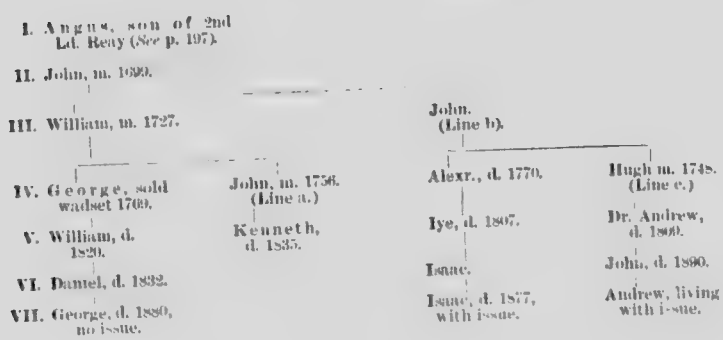
III. WILLIAM, m. in 1727 Janet, dau. and co-heiress of George Mackay, 5th of Bighouse, and had by her two children as given below. He m., secondly, Ann, dau. of James Mackay, tacksman of Skerray, but no issue. His children were:—

i. George, of whom follows.

ii. John, of whom afterwards as IVa.

TABLE G.

Key Pedigree.



Fencibles, and removed to Thurso at the "Clearances." The issue of this marriage was Donald, of whom follows:—

Donald Mackay, tacksman of Melness and Skelpick in Strathnaver, of Morvich in Sutherland, and factor for the Crown in Caithness, m. Annie, dau. of Ralph Reed, tacksman of Skelpick. He d. in 1880, leaving issue eight children as follows:—William, of whom follows; Diana (Mrs. Charles Macdonald); Isabel (Mrs. G. Campbell); Kate; Dora (Mrs. Robertson); Ella; Marion (Mrs. D. Campbell); and Anne.

Provost William Mackay, of Thurso, m. Jemima, dau. of the Rev. Dr. W. R. Taylor, Thurso, by his wife Isobel, dau. of William Murray of Pitcalzean, Ross, and d. in 1903 leaving issue as follows:—Donald, factor and banker, Thurso; Walter, banker, Madras, India; Ralph, a lawyer; Isobel; Anne; and Nora.

IV. George, captain of an independent company which he raised in the '45. He sold his rights over Melness to his younger brother John, 20 Dec., 1769, and having m. a dau. of John Gunn of Dalmore settled in London, where he d. leaving an only son William, of whom follows:—

V. William, who d. in London, 1820, m. Mary Mackenzie, issue five sons and one dau.:—

i. Daniel Langton, of whom follows.

The other children were:—John; William; George, m. Christina Mackenzie; Robert; and Elizabeth. None of these had issue.

VI. Daniel Langton Mackay, who d. in London, 1832, m. Elizabeth Briggs, and had a son George Daniel, of whom follows:—

VII. George D. Mackay, who inherited a large fortune from his uncle, George Mackay, d. at Brighton without issue, 2 Jan., 1880, and his estate is in Chancery (*Ben Reay Notes*).

IVa. John Mackay, son of William III., a lieut. of the old Sutherland regiment, purchased the wadset of Melness from his brother George, and m. Esther, dau. of Kenneth Sutherland of Torbol, who bore him two sons:—

i. Kenneth, of whom follows.

ii. Major William, of the 92nd Highlanders, m. Elizabeth, dau. of the Rev. Aeneas Macleod, Rogart, and d. at Golspie leaving four sons and two daus.:—

1. William, m. Ann, dau. of Magnus Omond, and d. in 1856 leaving an only son William Kenneth, who d. unmarried at Stromness, 1884.

2. John, d. unmarried in Trinidad.
3. James, d. unmarried in Trinidad.
4. Aeneas, d. unmarried in Australia.
5. Esther, d. unmarried.
6. Jane, m. Roderick Noble, Professor of Physical Science, Cape Town, and has issue.

Va. KENNETH, captain of the 92nd Highlanders, inherited Torbol, and was for some time factor for Eric, 7th Lord Reay. He m. Janet, dau. of Major George Sutherland of Mid-Garty, and d. at Invercarron, 1835, with issue five sons and four daus. :—

i. George, d. unmarried in the West Indies.

ii. John, d. unmarried in London.

iii. Robert, British Consul at Maricabo, m. Romano Teresa Trocomis, and d. in 1853 leaving two daus. :—

1. Williamina Mackay, m. Adolphe Jules d'Empaire, Consul at Maricabo, with issue.
2. Maria Mackay, m., first, Edmund Reick, and secondly, Rudolfo Hernandez, with issue.

iv. Eric, a surgeon in Birmingham, m. Hannah Fowler, and had one son, who d. unmarried.

v. Ebenezer, m. Louisa Macdonald, and had two sons who both d. young.

vi. Esther, m. William Murray of Pitcalzean as his second wife, but had no surviving issue.

vii. Jane, m. William Murray yr. of Pitcalzean, and had six children :—

1. William H. Murray, Sheriff-Substitute of Ross, d. unmarried.
2. Kenneth Mackay Murray of Geanies, m. Ann, dau. of Thomas Middleton, and left the following issue :— William Hugh Eric, now lieut.-col. of the Royal Scots, m. Jessie, dau. of Capel Hanbury, with issue; Thomas M. Murray, W.S., Edinburgh, m. Caroline, dau. of

Walter Ross Macdonald, with issue; Kenneth S. Murray; George Murray; Sutherland Murray; Anne, and Elizabeth, m. Captain Reginald Boys, R.E., D.S.O.

3. Sutherland Murray, Kirkton, m. Alexandra, dau. of Dr. Ross; Tain, who bore him two sons and three daus.
4. George J. Murray, W.S., d. unmarried.
5. Captain Hugh Murray, of 3rd Bat. Seaforth Highlanders, d. unmarried.
6. Georgina Murray, d. unmarried.

viii. Williamina, m. Rev. A. Noble, London, and d. in 1884 leaving issue:—Kenneth; Eric; and Margaret.

ix. Mary, m. Major Pope of Navidale, and had issue:—Jessie; Robert; Kenneth; William; Jessie Sutherland, m. Charles J. C. Wahab with issue; and Roberta, now living in London.

IIIb. JOHN MACKAY, Strathan-Tongue, son of John II., m. Margaret, dau. of William Munro, Durness, and had four sons:—

i. Alexander, of whom follows.

ii. George, who served in Col. Hugh Mackay's regiment of Scots in Holland, m. Barbara, dau. of Roderick Macleod, Assynt, and had a family who settled in Holland.

iii. Hugh, of whom as IVc.

iv. Lieut.-Col. Iye, in the Dutch service in 1778, m. Barbara Gordon, and had issue:—Iye, adjutant of the 2nd Bat. Orange regiment, Holland; George; Robert; Aeneas; Joseph; Isabel; Barbara; Elizabeth; and Anna. All these settled in Holland.

IVb. Major ALEXANDER, of a Swedish regiment in Pomerania, m. Marion Gunn, and d. at Strathan-Tongue in 1770, having issue four sons and three daus.:—

i. Iye, of whom follows.

ii. George, served in the Reay Fencibles, m. a Miss Wallace, and emigrating to Canada is lost trace of.

iii. Hugh, served in the Reay Fencibles, d. unmarried.

iv. Thomas, m. in Lanark, where he had an interest in some mills. No known issue.

The daus. were :—Mrs. Captain Mackenzie ; Isobel ; and Henrietta —the last two d. unmarried in London.

Vb. Iye, who d. at Edinburgh in 1807, m. Mary, dau. of Alexr Melville, shipmaster, Elie, and had issue as follows :—

i. John, who d. at Leith in 1865, m. Margaret, dau. of George Swan, Elie, and had six children :—

1. Iye, served in the 42nd Highlanders, and d. in India, 1861.
2. John, known as "Ben Reay," author of *An old Scots Brigade* and of various papers bearing upon the history of our Highland regiments. He was twice ...arried, but d. 14 Nov., 1896, leaving no surviving issue.
3. Jessie, m. Rev. James Pullar, minister at Toledo, Ontario, 1894, and has surviving issue :—Edith ; and Thomas Reay.

4, 5, 6. Mary ; Elizabeth ; and Margaret.

ii. Alexander, who d. at Richmond, Australia, 1876, m. Helen, dau. of Anthony Laird, Leith, but no surviving issue.

iii. Isaac, of whom follows.

iv., v., vi. Robert, d. unmarried ; Helen, m. a Colonel Grant, and d. without issue in 1839 ; and Marion, d. unmarried.

VIb. Isaac,[1] who served in the St. Helena regiment of Artillery, m. Jane, dau. of Alexr. Smith, Leith, and had issue :—

i. Isaac, of whom follows.

ii. Alexander, has extensive Flour Mills in St. Iago, Chille, to which

1. Isaac, as already observed, is a monstrously corrupt form of Iye.

ANDREW MACKAY, LL.D., F.R.S., EDIN., &c.

he migrated in 1886. He m. Jane Brunton, and has issue:—George; Frederick; Alexander; and Elizabeth.

iii., iv. Mary, m. David Bell, Edinburgh, issue two daus.; and Angus.

VIIb. ISAAC, a merchant in Liverpool, d. at Birkenhead in 1877. He. m. Jane, dau. of Thomas Reed, and left issue:—William; Crichton; and Hector.

IVc. HUGH MACKAY, son of John IIIb., Strathan-Tongue. He is identified as Hugh, a Melness Mackay, who went to Tain and thence passed to Dunfermline, where he m. Alison Mudie, about 1748, having issue four sons and three daus., one of whom was Dr. Andrew, and of whom follows:—

Vc. ANDREW, LL.D., F.R.S.E., etc., became superintendent of the Astronomical Observatory, Aberdeen, and author of numerous mathematical works, of which the best known are "Mackay's Complete Navigator" and "Mackay on the Longitude." In 1804 he removed to London, where he became examiner for Trinity House, the H.E.I.C., etc. (See *Dictionary of National Biography* for further particulars). He m. Margaret Younger, and d. in 1809, leaving the following nine children:—

The eldest seven were:—Andrew, d. 1820; Alison, d. 1820; Margaret, m. James Brooks, and d. in 1860; Martha, m. Andrew Milne, and d. in 1832; William, d. 1827; Jane, m. John Dawson, and d. 1886; Isabella, d. 1805; the two youngest were as follows:—

i. John Selby Mackay, of whom follows.

ii. George Gray Mackay, coalmaster in Grangemouth, who d. 1890,

m Elizabeth, dau. of Rev. Professor Wm. Taylor, Original Secession Church, Perth, with issue three sons and two daus. :—

1. Andrew Younger Mackay, Provost of Grangemouth, m. Dorothea, dau. of Rev. Alexr. Munro, U.F. Church, Alness, Ross.
2. William Taylor Mackay, Middlesbro, m. Lilian Wilson and has issue:—George; Ann; Florence; Jessie; and Kenneth.
3. George G. Mackay, drysalter, Liverpool, m. Mary, dau. of. Captain Broadfoot of the Mercantile Marine and lieut. of the R.N.R., by whom he has surviving issue a dau., Elizabeth.
4. Elizabeth, m. Rev. John Sinclair, late of Free St. Bernard's, Edinburgh, and has issue one dau.:—Elizabeth, m. Christopher Cuthbert Curwen.
5. Margaret.

VIc. JOHN SELBY MACKAY, banker, coalmaster, and shipowner, Grangemouth (who d. 1890), m. Margaret Bogue, and had seven children:—

i. Andrew, of whom follows.

ii. Joseph, in Helensburgh, m. Jessie Melville, and has issue:—Evelyn; Margaret; Hugh; Thomas; Francis; Joseph; Eric; Richard; Allan; Hilda; and Clare.

iii., iv., v., vi. John; Marion; Margaret; and Isabella.

vii. William George, m. Christina Harrison, and has issue:—Jane; Margaret; John; and William.

VIIc. ANDREW MACKAY, coalmaster, shipowner, and Provost of Grangemouth, m. Alexandrina M. Lindsay, and has issue:—John; Margaret; Alexander; Arthur; Mabel; Jessie: Archibald; and Winnifred.

VI. The Sandwood Mackays.

I. The Hon. Charles Mackay, son of Donald, 1st Lord Reay, by his 3rd wife Marjory, dau. of Francis Sinclair of Stirkoke, was the first of this branch. He m. Elizabeth, dau. of Captain Wm. Mackay of Borley (*See Scourie Mackays*), and on 28 May, 1679, gave sasine to his wife in liferent and to his eldest son Donald in fee of his wadset lands of Sandwood, Alschernore, etc. His known issue was three sons and two daus. :—

i. Donald of Farr, obtained a wadset of Eriboll in 1706, which he resigned in 1719 when he secured a wadset of Farr, Swordly, and Kirtomy for 13,458 merks. He m. Margaret, dau. of William Sutherland of Riarchar, and dying c. 1720 his brother Robert became curator to his three children, who were as follows:—Lieut. Donald of the Scots Brigade in Holland, who fell in the Dutch campaign of 1745, when the wadset of Farr passed to his uncle Major Hugh of Riarchar; Jane, became the 2nd wife of John Mackay of Kirtomy (*See* Strathy Mackays); Margaret, m. James Douglas, afterwards Sir James, British consul at Naples (*Blk. MS.*).

ii. Robert, tutor of Farr, of whom follows.

iii. Major Hugh, served on the staff of General Oglethorpe during the Spanish invasion of Georgia in 1742, and took a prominent part in organizing the militia of Strathnaver and Sutherland during the '45. He had a tack of Riarchar, near Dornoch, and inherited the wadset of Farr. He m., first, 28 July, 1737, Margaret, eldest dau. of Alexr. Gunn of Badinloch, Chief of Gunn, by his wife Mary Mackay, and had by her an only dau. Elizabeth (*Reg. of Deeds: Mackenzie Office*). He m., secondly, Mary Ross by whom he had three sons:—Hugh, resigned the

wadset of Farr 5 May, 1760; Donald, served heir to his elder brother 7 Jan., 1764, and whose will is recorded in the Edinburgh Testaments 15 Sep., 1772; and Alexr.

vi. A dau. m. William Polson of Rogart, and bore to him Margaret, who m. John Mackay, surgeon, Falsaid (*See* SCOURY MACKAYS).

v. Margaret, m. John Sutherland of Keoldale, issue two:—Kenneth, m. his cousin Catherine, dau. of Robert Mackay, tutor of Farr, and had a son John who m. Isobel, dau. of John Mackay of

TABLE H.

Key Pedigree.

I. Charles Mackay, son of 1st Ld. Reay (*See* p. 197).

II. Robert, had bond 1749. — And others.

III. George of Bighouse, d. 1798. — Aeneas of Scotston, d. 1807, with issue. (*Line a*). — And oth...

IV. Major Colin, d. 1841. — Major Donald with issue. — And others.

V. James, d. 1866.

VI. Colin, m. in 1890 and has issue.

Clashneach (*See* STRATHY MACKAYS); and Barbara Sutherland, m. Donald Mackay, Clashneach, and had issue (George, an officer of the H.E.I.C.; Marion, m. John Mackay, Borley; Mary, m. Neil Morrison, Kylestrome; and Margaret, who d. 1809, m. James Clark, issue seven sons and two daus.).

II. ROBERT, tutor of Farr, had a tack of Scourymore, etc., 2 March, 1736, and in 1749 had a bond for £500 stg. over Scoury. Besides being curator of the children of his deceased brother Donald, in 1752 he became one of the trustees for the children of his deceased brother Major Hugh (*Reg. of Deeds: Mackenzie Office*). He m.,

first, Elizabeth, dau. of Mackenzie of Glenlerig, Assynt, issue four children:—

i. Hugh, d. unmarried in 1746. See his elegy by Rob Donn.

ii. Jane, m. Sheriff-Substitute Donald Forbes of Ribigill. One of the children was Major Donald Forbes of the Reay Fencibles, who had a tack of Ribigill, Kinloch, etc., and lived at Melness House in 1821. The major was m. and had issue.

iii. A dau. m. Donald Mackay, Sandwood.

iv. A dau. m. Hugh Mackay, Kinlochbervie, and had a son of whom follows:—Robert, m. a dau. of James Mackay tacksman of Skerray, and had the following issue according to the *Ben Reay Notes* (Captain Hugh, of the Royal African Corps, d. unmarried; Captain Hector, who held a post in the War Office; Iye, m. near Laxford; and Captain James of the 60th Foot d. in Australia).

Robert, the tutor, m., secondly, Janet, dau. of John Mackay of Kirtomy (*See* STRATHY MACKAYS), issue seven sons and five daus.:—

v. George of Bighouse, of whom follows.

vi. Captain John of the 31st Foot, Auldany, Assynt. He m. Jane, dau. of Patrick Gray of Easter-Lairg, and d. in 1773 leaving four daus.:—Joan, m. Captain Alexr. Clark of the Reay Fencibles, with issue; Betty, m. Kenneth Mackenzie, Laidbeg, Assynt, issue nine, of whom the eldest, John, succeeded to the Milmont baronetcy (*Ben Reay Notes*); Janet, m. Lieut. Hugh Clark of the Reay Fencibles, with issue; and Lucy, m. Captain William Scobie, Ardvarr, with issue.

vii. Hugh, a surgeon, m. Isabella, dau. of Colonel Hugh Mackay of Balnakeil by his first wife, Francis de la Rue, no issue.

viii. Rupert, a planter in Jamaica, m. but no issue.

ix. Captain Aeneas of Scotstoun, of whom afterwards as IIIa.

x. Major Donald of the H.E.I.C. Artillery, d. unmarried at Madras, 1783 (*Blk. MS.*).

xi. Captain Alexr. of the 42nd Highlanders, d. during the American War.

The daus. were:—Mrs. Kenneth Scobie, Auchiemore,

with issue; Mrs. Robert Gordon, Auchness, with issue; Mrs. Captain John Gray; Mrs. Donald Mackay, Skinet, who had Captain Donald of the 21st Foot; and Catherine (Mrs. Kenneth Sutherland, Keoldale).

III. George Mackay of Handa, afterwards of Bighouse, had a company in the Duke of Gordon's North Fencibles in 1778, became lieut.-col. of the Reay Fencibles, and d. at Scotstoun in 1798. He m. Louisa Campbell, who d. 1834, portioner of Bighouse, and purchased from the other portioners the remainder of the estate. They had issue twenty-one children:—

i. Hugh, m. Miss Wykes, and d. without issue at Antigua, 1818.

ii. Robert, d. unmarried at Antigua, 1793.

iii. Colin of Bighouse, of whom follows.

iv. Major Donald of the 70th Foot, d. at New Ross, Ireland, 1832. He m. Mary, dau. of Neil Macinnes, issue five:—

1. George, a surgeon of the H.E.I.C. and afterwards of H.M. Madras Army, who served in the Burmah expedition of 1852-4, and d. at Edinburgh in 1900 a deputy-surgeon-general. He m. Ellen Rose, dau. of Arthur J. Robertson of Inches, Inverness, issue nine:—Donald, d. young, 1857; Marianne, d. young, 1857; Mary Macinnes, m. Lieut.-Col. Robert D. Murray of the Indian Medical Staff, and Professor of Surgery, Calcutta, with issue (Rose; Marian Effie; Eric; Robert George; Ronald Neil; and Rona Jean); Ellen Cameron, d. young, 1860; Arthur Neil, d. young, 1860; George, ophthalmic surgeon, Edinburgh, m. in 1896 Elise Marjory, dau. of Lieut.-Col. A. B. Machardy, R.E., C.B., chairman of the Prison Commission for Scotland, with issue (Donald James; Alexr. George; and Kenneth Charles); Colin James, indigo planter, Bengal; Captain Henry Forbes, of the Royal Marine Artillery, m. Margaret Evelyn, eldest dau. of Major P. L. Gordon, late Madras Cavalry, with issue (Henry Neill; and George Lawrence); Julia Effie; Lucy Campbell, m. Archibald F. P. Paxton, with issue (Nellie Prudence; George Archibald; Archibald Francis; and Llewellyn Colin).
2. Colonel Neil Macinnes of the Royal Artillery, served during the Crimean War, and d. at Merut, 20 Aug.,

MRS LOUISA MACKAY OF BIGHOUSE.

FROM A PAINTING BY RAEBURN IN THE POSSESSION OF D. L. M. MACKAY, ESQ., THE PARK, CHELTENHAM.

1875. He m. Harriet Wood, with surviving issue Emma Louisa.

3. Margaret Gillanders, m. in 1852 Captain James Cameron, issue three sons and one dau.

4. Louisa Campbell, m. in 1844 Henry M. Fowler of Raddery Ross, issue six sons and three daus.

5. Euphemia Garden, m. William Robertson yr. of Kindeace, Ross, with issue:—Mary Helen; and Helen Gwendoline.

v. Charles Ross Mackay, d. of wounds received on board H.M. *Frolic*, 18 Oct., 1812, in an engagement with the American sloop *Wasp*. His sword was sent to his mother, along with a piece of plate subscribed by the merchants of Bristol.

vi. Major Honeyman Macqueen Mackay of the 90th Foot, d. at Bath unmarried, 1875. He served with the 68th in the expedition to Walcheren in 1809, and was present at the capture of Flushing. He served in the Peninsula 1811-14, fought at Salamanca, the Retreat from Burgos, Vittoria (where he was wounded on the head), Pyrenees, Neville, and Orthes.

vii. Robert, d. unmarried at Antigua, 1816.

viii. A son, d. young.

ix. Janet (who d. 15 March, 1857), m. Sir Benjamin Duff Dunbar of Hempriggs, near Wick, with issue.

x. Elizabeth, d. young

xi. Jean, m. George Sac[illegible]le Sutherland of Uppat, and [illegible] Inverness in 1858, with issue: James, m. G. M. Mackay [illegible] Georgina, m. Elizabeth Walker; Ewen, m Elizabeth Mackenzie Duncan, m. Lucy Hawkshaw; Hugh; Robert, m. G. Cumming; Charles; Elizabeth; Louisa, m. J. Gibson; and Jane, m. John Wilson, M.D.

xii. Alexandrina, m. Gabriel Reed of Gordonbush, and d. at Kilchuanskill in 1834, issue nine:—Louisa, m. Rev. Dr. George Mackay, Clyne, afterwards Free High, Inverness; Mary, m. Captain Munro, brother of Munro of Allan; Georgina, m. Dr Ross of the 7th Dragoons; Aeneasina, m. Hugh Houston, banker, Golspie; Dorothy, m., first, Mr Hood and, secondly, Rev. John Murray, Brora; Hughina, m. Mr. Duncan; Ellerington, m Jane Houston and had an only child Mary Thomasina, who m. T. E. Buckley

of Rossal, Inverness-shire, issue four (Ellerington; Guy Charles; Elizabeth; and Eveline); Robert; and John.

xiii. Joanna (who d. 7 Oct., 1827), m. James Sinclair of Forss, Reay, issue ten:—James, m. Jessie Wemyss; George, m. Francis A. Boasman; Captain William of the 13th Light Infantry; Robert, d. young; Hugh, d. in Australia; Jean; Aeneasina, m. Wm. Stevenson, with issue; Louisa, m. Hector Macneil; Elizabeth; and Janet

xiv. Louisa Campbell Mackay, d. unmarried, 1815.

xv. Aeneasina, m. John Fearn, an Indian planter, with issue:—Aeneasina, d. unmarried at Edinburgh, 1877.

xvi. Georgina, m. Lieut. Col. Donald Macneil of the 91st Highlanders, son of Macneil of Colonsay, issue four:—General Donald of the Royal Artillery, d. at Edinburgh without surviving issue, 1891; Alexr. and George, twins, without issue, and Georgina, d. in Jamaica, without issue.

xvii. Hariet Marion, m. Harry Hackshaw, a West Indian planter, and d. in 1877 in her 92nd year, the last survivor of this large family, issue eight:—Harry, d. in 1848; Robert James, m. with issue; Thomas, drowned in 1848; Lucy, m., first, D. F. Sutherland and, secondly, Sir John Hall, knighted for medical service performed during the Crimean War; Lydia Jane; Hariet Marion, m. W. H. Nicol; and Georgina Lydia.

xviii. Henrietta, d. unmarried.

xix. Margaret Carr, who d. in 1850, m. Captain Popplewell, R.N., issue seven:—Admiral George, unmarried; Thomas, d. leaving issue; Mathew, m. his cousin Geraldine Mackay, with issue; Crawford Kerr, m. Miss Bishop, with issue; Honeyman Charles, d. 1852; Louisa Campbell, second wife of Robert J. Hackshaw, no issue; Sarah Elizabeth, m. Rev. Wm. Boys Johnstone, with issue; and Margaret Carr, d. unmarried.

xx. Duncan Forbes, m. Captain Pearce, R.N., issue three:—Lieut.-Col. Joseph Pearse of the H.E.I.C., d. at Madras, 1860; Lucy, m. M. Warner of Ardier, Ayr, with issue; and Anne d. unmarried

xxi. A child d. in infancy.

IV. Colin Campbell Mackay, became captain in the 78th Highlanders in 1805 having raised a company of men for that corps

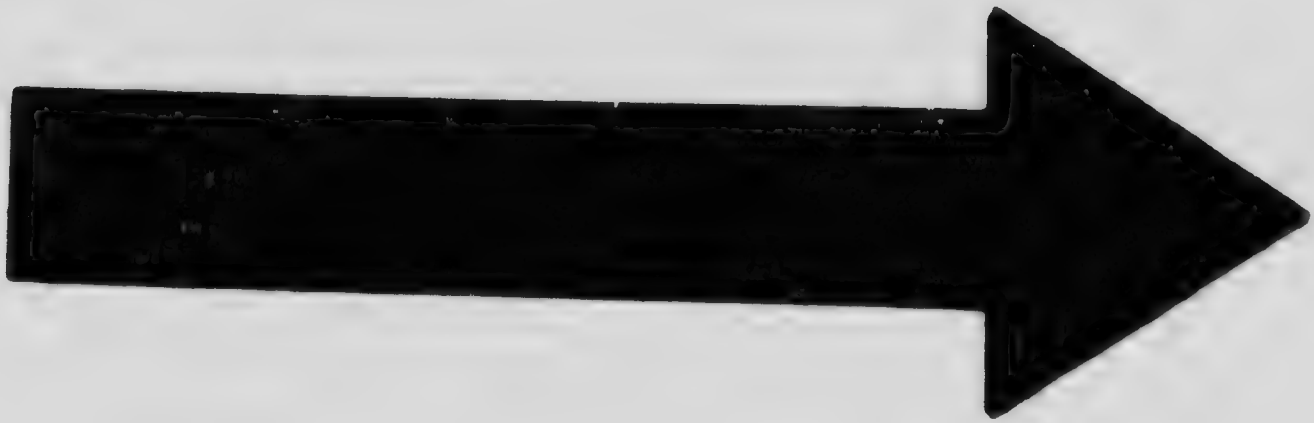
among his Strathhalladale tenantry. He served in Calabria in 1806, was present at the battle of Maida and the capture of Catrone. In 1807 he served in Egypt, was present at the attack on the fort and heights of Alexandria, the siege of Rosetta, and the actions at El Hamet on the 20th and 21st April. At this last battle he was dangerously wounded in the neck by a sabre cut, got a ball in the head and another in the foot at the same time. Of the Grenadier company, whom he led that day and who were mostly his own tenantry, two subalterns and fifty-nine men were killed out of a total of seventy. The nine survivors, who were all wounded except one, practically hewed their way through the serried ranks of the enemy carrying their wounded captain along with them, although he was supposed to be mortally hurt (*Bighouse Papers*). Captain Mackay, however, recovered of his wound and lived to take part in the 1814-15 campaign in Holland and the Netherlands, including both the actions of Merxem and the bombardment of Antwerp. He became major, 11 Aug., 1814, and was promoted lieut.-col. on 10th Jan., 1837.

In 1830 he sold Strathhalladale or Bighouse to the Marquis of Stafford, bought a place in Berwickshire which he called Bighouse, and afterwards bought an estate near Arisaig to which he also gave that name. He m. Marjory Gerard, dau. of Mr. Cruikshank of Strathcathro, and d. 23 June, 1841, issue nine:—

i. Lieut. George of the 62nd Foot, m. Anne Moore, dau. of Campbell of Melfort, but d. without issue.

ii. James Cruikshank Mackay, of whom follows.

iii. Patrick (d. 4 March, 1893), m. Eliza, dau. of Major Innes of Lake Innes, N.S. Wales, and had issue:—Patrick Colin, m. in 1891 at Newcastle, N.S.W., Catherine, dau. of John Healey, Dunedin, with issue (Campbell Innes; Marjorie Catherine; and Ethnid); George Archibald, surgeon, m. Ethel Geraldine, dau. of Dr. Gerard of Paramata, N.S.W., no issue; James Henry, m. in 1891 at Hobart, Tasmania, Emily Florence, dau. of Basset Dickson of



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

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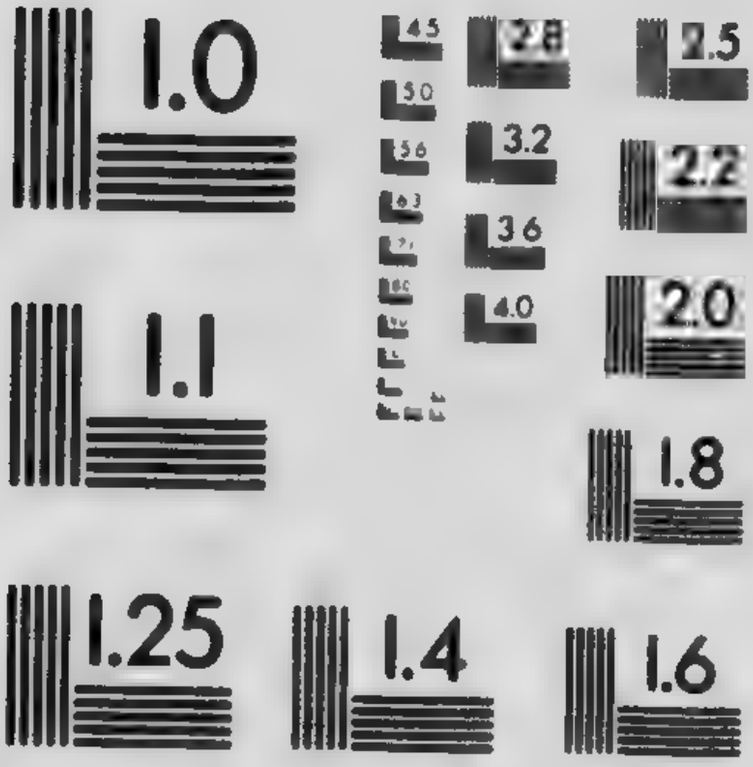

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Glen Ayr, Tasmania, with issue (Colin Patrick; James Donald; Margaret Emily; and Ann Mary); and Margaret Gordina.

iv. Hugh.

v. Colin Campbell, m. in 1874 Elizabeth Clarke, with issue:—Colin; Hugh Gerard; George; Marjory; Elizabeth; Roderick; Eva; and Geraldine.

vi. Louisa, m. in 1874 Duncan, eldest son of General Sir A[illegible] Cameron, K.C.B., of Inverailort, but no surviving issue.

vii. Marjory, m. in 1861 Harry Y. D. Copland, W.S., Edinburgh, and d. without issue in 1875.

viii. Geraldine, who d. in 1888, m. her cousin Mathew James, son of Captain Popplewell, issue four sons and one dau.

ix. Wilhelmina, residing in Edinburgh.

V. James Cruikshank Mackay, who d. 22 Feb., 1866, m. Margaret Anna, only child of Major Duncan Macpherson of Drummond House, Inverness, issue eight:—Colin, of whom follows; Duncan of the Indian Civil Service, m. in 1885 Marian, dau. of Captain Wimberley, late 79th Highlanders, issue four (James; Douglas; Ronald; and Helen); George, d. at Travancore, India, 20 Jan., 1888; James Patrick, now in British Columbia; Margaret G. S.; Charlotte Jane, m. in 1892 at Madras, Edwin P. Popert of the Indian Forest Department, and d. in 1894 leaving one son; also two who d. young, Frederick; and Marjory.

VI. Colin Campbell Mackay, now farming in British Columbia, m. in 1890 Rosina Mary, dau. of John Berry of Cochin, Malabar, with issue:—James Alexander; Mary, d. young; and Mary Lilias.

IIIa. Captain Aeneas Mackay of Scotstoun, son of the tutor of Farr, raised a company for Lord Macleod's Highlanders in which

he served for some time, but got transferred into a cavalry regiment of the H.E.I.C. In 1780 he was desperately wounded at the battle of Conjeveram, where he was taken prisoner. He remained in the hands of Hyder Ali till April, 1784, when he returned to Scotland and bought the estate of Scotstoun, Peebles. By two separate transactions, in 1805 and 1807, he afterwards sold the property for £20,000 to Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael. He m., first, Janet Campbell, sister of the Countess of Caithness, and had by her one son Robert, a merchant in Glasgow, who m. Miss Bennet, without issue. He m., secondly, Miss Mylne of Mylnfield, and d. at Edinburgh 17th Nov., 1807, issue seven:—

i. Donald Aeneas, an officer of the H.E.I.C. (who d. in India 22 Nov., 1831), m. Miss Spotiswoode, issue three:—Aeneas, d. young; Helen, m., first, Captain Macdonald, to whom she bore a dau., who m. a Mr. Maciver, and secondly, a Mr. Mackenzie, by whom she had issue (Aeneas Mackenzie, shipowner, Stornoway; and two daus. m. to gentlemen of the name of Maciver); and Agnes, m., first, Captain Malcolm Macdonald, and secondly, Jonathan Duncan of Inverarity, without issue.

ii. Thomas George, W.S., Edinburgh, m. Mary, dau. of John Kirkcaldy of Baldovie, Forfar, issue two:—

1. Aeneas James George Mackay, advocate, occupied the Chair of History in Edinburgh University 1874-81, sheriff of Fife and Kinross 1881-1901, m in 1891 Lilian Alina, dau. of Colonel C. W. St. John, no issue. He now resides in Edinburgh.
2. Emily Helen, m. in 1881 Swinton Melville of the Indian Civil Service.

iii. George Hugh, d. young.

iv. James, military officer of the H.E.I.C., m. Emma Bishop, and d. in 1831 without issue.

v. Lieut.-Col. Aeneas John of the H.E.I.C., served in the first and second expedition to Afghanistan in 1839 and 1842, in the expedition of 1843 to Maharajpoor, and in the army of the Sutlej in 1845, for which he got four medals and two clasps. He m. in 1849 Eleanor, d. of William Roberts, banker,

Glasgow, and d. in 1865, leaving three children:—Thomas, LL.D., a writer on political economy, m., first, Beatrice, dau. of the Rev. and Hon. John Bailie, canon of York, and secondly, in 1905, Mary, dau. of the the late Colonel Grant, Nairn; Rev. James, Shrewsbury, m. in 1892 Georgina, dau. of the late Captain Kenyon, R.N., Shrewsbury, without issue; and Margaret Elizabeth, d. unmarried.

vi. Isabella, m. Hugh, second son of Sir Archibald Hope of Pinkie, to whom she bore Major-General Archibald Hugh Hope of the Madras Cavalry, who m. Miss Jones with issue.

vii. Helen, m., first, Sir David Moncrieffe, and secondly, the Earl of Bradford. She had no issue by the second husband, but by the first she had the following four children:—Sir Thomas Moncrieffe, who m. Lady Louisa, dau. of the Earl of Kinnoull, with issue; Helen, m. Edmund Wright of Halston, Shrops, with issue; Elizabeth; and William Aeneas, who served in the 78th Highlanders.

VII. The Dutch Mackays.

ARMS OF BARON BARTHOLD MACKAY, 4TH OF THIS FAMILY.

I. THE HON. AENEAS MACKAY, Brigadier-General, son of the 2nd Lord Reay by his wife Barbara, dau. of Colonel Hugh Mackay of Scoury, was the first of this family. After prolonged military service in Scotland, Ireland, and on the Continent, he went to Bath for his health in 1697, where he d. after a few weeks' sojourn, worn out with war and wounds. A monument stands to his memory in Bath Cathedral. He m. in 1692 Margaret, Countess von Puckler, who d.

his widow at Teil, Guelderland, 14 Feb. 1761, at the age of 90. They had one child, of whom follows:—

II. Colonel Donald Mackay, commanded his father's Scots regiment in the Dutch service, and fell at Tournay in 1745. He m. his cousin Arnolda Margaret, Baroness van den Steen, issue five:—

TABLE I.

Key Pedigree.

I. Hon. Aeneas, son of 2nd Ld. Reay, d. 1697 (See p. 197).
|
II. Donald, k. 1745.
|
III. Aeneas. — And others.
|
IV. Baron Barthold, d. 1854. — And others.
|
V. Aeneas, 10th Ld. Reay, d. 1876. — Baron Johan, d. 1845. — And others.
|
VI. Donald James, 11th Ld. Reay. — Aeneas, with issue. — Theodoor, with issue. — William, with issue.

i. Aeneas, of whom follows.

ii. Major-General Frans, m. Baroness Maria Adelheid van Heckeren van Enghuizen, and d. without issue at Zutphen, 10 Aug., 1817.

iii. Captain John, d. unmarried.

iv. Major Donald, d. at Zutphen, 5 Sep., 1782, m. Baroness Isabella Constantia de Geer van Rynhuyzen, Dowager-Countess Quart, issue two:—Donald Arnold Alexander, d. in the island of St. Domingo in 1796; and Jan Louis, settled at Cheltenham, England, where he m. Mary Ann Harrison, and d. in 1840 without issue.

v. Francis Jacoba, m. Baron Vygh of the Seur and Appilenburgh, President of the Court of Justice, Guelderland, and had a dau. who m. Baron van Eek, one of the nobles of Guelderland.

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BARON ÆNEAS MACKAY.

PRE ENT OF THE SECOND CHAMBER THE HAGUE

III. Colonel Aeneas Mackay of Mackay's Scots regiment in the Dutch service, m. Baroness Urselina Philippina van Haeften, issue eight :—

i. Captain Donald of the Grenadiers of Mackay's Scots regiment, d. at Edinburgh in his twentieth year, 6 June, 1787.

ii. Ensign Frans, d. 1787.

iii. Cornelius Anne, member of the Provincial States and chief magistrate of Zutphen, was admitted into the Ordre Equestre of Guelderland in 1819. On the 4th June, 1822, King William of the Netherlands created him a baron, and in 1841 he d. without issue although twice m.

iv. Barthold Johan Christian, of whom follows.

The daus. were :—Margarita ; Theodora ; Arnolda ; and Reiniera.

IV. Baron Barthold Mackay, director-general of the Post at Rotterdam, was created baron by King William of the Netherlands 4 June, 1822, and m. Baroness Anna Magdalena Frederica van Renesse van Wilp. Baron Mackay d. at his chateau of Ophemert, Guelderland, 26 Nov., 1854, after a life of piety and usefulness, in his eighty-first year, with issue two :—

i. Baron Aeneas, of whom follows.

ii. Baron Johan Francois Hendrick Jacob Ernestus, m. Baroness Margaretha van Lynden, and d. in 1845, leaving three sons and some daus. :—

1. Baron Aeneas, b. 1838, ex Prime Minister of the Netherlands and President of the Second Chamber, m. Baroness Elizabeth van Lynden, issue one :—Eric, b. 1870.
2. Baron Theodoor Philips, member of the Chamber of Accounts and ex-member of the Second Chamber, m. Juliana Anna, Baroness van Lynden, issue seven sons and two daus. :—Johan Jacob ; Constantyn Willem, m. Petronella Haenfft, issue a dau. ; Aeneas, an "Advocat en Procureur" at the Hague, m. Hermina Clasina den Beer Poortugall, issue a son ; Edward ; Dirk Rynhard Johan ;

Daniel; Norman; Margaretha Clara Francoise; and Maria Jacoba.

3. William Karl, m. Nicoline Engelvaart, issue two.

V. Baron Aeneas Mackay, G.C. of the Order of the Netherlands, late Vice-President of the Council of State. On the death of Eric, 9th Lord Reay, he succeeded as 10th Lord Reay in 1875, and d. at the Hague 6 March, 1876. He m. Baroness Mary C. A. F. Fagel, issue two:—Donald James, of whom follows; and John James, d. unmarried in 1859.

VI. Donald James Mackay, 11th Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D., b. 22 Dec., 1839, was Governor of Bombay 1885-90, and Under-Secretary of State for India 1894-5. He m. in 1877 Fanny Georgina Jane, C.I., dau. of the late Richard Hasler of Aldingbourne, Sussex, and widow of Captain Alexr. Mitchell, M.P., of Stow.

VIII. The Swedish Mackays, now von Key.

THESE Mackays settled in Sweden in the time of the 1st Lord Reay, and came thither as members of the Scots regiment which he raised for service under Gustavus Adolphus. "With the regiment were several officers of the name of Mackay," says the *Svensk Slaktbok*, "who accompanied it to Sweden. Among those coming in with the said regiment were the undernamed James Mackay, and a Rudolph Mackay, whose son Isaac [corrupt form of Iye] became proprietor of an ironwork in Gestrickland and married Anna Leufstadius in 1647. This family has signed itself Mackay, Mackey, etc., but now calls itself von Key." The family settled in Gothland in the south-east corner of Sweden, and chiefly in the counties of Kalmar and Jonkoping. Our authority for the following account is wholly the *Svensk Slaktbok*, published in Stockholm by P. A. Norstedt, 1901.

I. LIEUT.-COL. JAMES MACKAY, settled in Upland, and had known issue a son, of whom follows.

II. LIEUT. FREDERICK, m. Elizabeth Pihlman, dau. of a merchant in Kalmar, and d. 1687, leaving a son, of whom follows:—

III. JAKOB, royal bailiff in Tuna County, m. Margaretha Drangel, and d. 1735, with issue: Johan, of whom follows: and Frederick, of whom afterwards as IVb.

IV. JOHAN, district governor in County Jonkoping and proprietor of Edshult, Kvensas, Johannesburg, etc., in said county. He m.

Kristina M. Weisel, and d. in 1789, issue five:—Jakob Magnus, of whom follows; Lieut. Hans Henrik of Jonkoping regiment, d. 1831; Kristina, m. Ensign Neil Sablefeldt; Joanna; and Elizabeth, m. Karl Astrand, a proprietor and district governor.

Key Pedigree.

I. James.
II. Frederick.
III. Jakob
IV. Johan.
V. Jakob Magnus.
VI. Karl Johan.
VII. Axel Ivar.
VIII.

Frederick (*Line b.*)
Karl Frederick
Emil
Karl F. E. Emil.
Mac Otto.

Henrick. (*Line a.*)
Karl E. Georg.
Karl Leonard.

V. Captain Jakob Magnus of the Life Guards Cavalry, proprietor of Edshult, etc., m. Charlotta S. Hammarberg, and d. in 1807, issue five:—Karl Johan, of whom follows: Henrick, of whom afterwards as VIa; Charlotta, m. Karl Rosenquist, gentleman of the Bedchamber; Ulrick, m. a captain in the Kalmar regiment; Abela, m. a major of the Kalmar regiment.

VI. Captain Karl Johan of the Kalmar regiment, proprietor of Edshult, etc., m. Louisa Buren, and d. in 1875, issue six:—Lieut. Karl Henrick Magnus of the Kalmar regiment, d. unmarried in 1865, and was buried in the family vault in Edshult churchyard; Axel Ivar, joined the Danes in 1864 and fought at Dyboll, served with the Italians 1869-72 and took part in the storming of Rome, in 1892 became a lieut.-col. in the Swedish army, and in 1895 retired into the

Reserve; Pontus Edward, surg. m. d. unmarried 1884; Hugo Emil; Hedwig, m. Baron Emil Viktor Fleetwood, and d. in 1887, leaving issue: and Louisa, m. Karl Pontus, proprietor of Boxholm.

VIa. LIEUT.-COL. HENRICK, son of Captain Jakob Magnus V., was gover . of the citadel of Malmo, m. Caroline Aberg, and d. in 1861, issue two sons and some daus.:—Karl Emil Georg, of whom follows; and Ernst Axel Henrik, Professor of Anatomy at Karolinska, m. Selma Godenius, and has a large family.

VIIa. LIEUT.-COL. KARL EMIL GEORG, proprietor of Byested in Jonkoping, m. Hedwig Raaf, and d. in 1899, issue four:—Lieut. Karl Axel Henrik, d. unmarried in 1895: Karl Leonard, of whom follows; Karl Georg Vigo, adjutant of the Grenadier Bodyguard in 1900: and Kerstin Elizabet, head of the Sch l of Industry and Art, Stockholm.

VIIIa. KARL LEONARD, a naval officer, chief of the 1st Submarine Mining Co. in 1897, m. in 1895 Martha Scharp, and has issue.

IVb. FREDERIK, son of Jakob III., proprietor of Vindo in Kalmar, m. Kristina Elertz, and d. in 1793, issue two:—Karl Fredrik, of whom follows: and Louisa Kristina, m. Lieut. Baron Fredrik Vilhelm Fleetwood.

Vb. CAPTAIN KARL FREDRIK, fought during the war of 1776, proprietor of Vindo and Styrnvick, m. Beata Sundewall, and d. in 1817, issue one:—

VIb. Captain Emil, of Smaland's Dragoons, m. Baroness Caroline Fleetwood, and d. in 1820, issue two:—Karl F. E. Emil, of whom follows; and Marie, m. Baron Karl Adam.

VIIb. Karl F. E. Emil, a large proprietor in Kalmar, of which county he is M.P., and a prolific writer on political economy, m. Countess Sofia Posse, and d. in 1892, issue five:—Karl Adam, lost at sea; Mac Otto Washington, of whom follows; Karl Lage Einar, emigrated to Australia, and m. Emily Parot, with issue; Ellen Karolina, lady lecturer at Stockholm Institute; and Hedvig, m. Herman Peterson, prison director at Karlstad.

VIIIb. Mac Otto Washington, a proprietor in Kronsberg, m. Maria Schade, and has two children:—Ivar Emil Mac; and Ellen Maria Louise.

IX. The Galloway Mackays.

ARMS OF M'GHIE OF BALMAGHIE

THE Galloway McEths are divided into two main branches, the M'Ghies of Balmaghie and the M'Kies of Larg, of which the former may be the older, but the latter has the more numerous offshoots. They are one and the same family originally, although the names appear slightly different in script—a difference which was at first very much a matter of taste, but which custom petrified to some extent. The striking affinity between the arms of the two branches also indicates a close relationship. The arms of Balmaghie, which we give above, are blazoned by Sir George Mackenzie, "Sable, three

leopards' heads erased, argent." The crest consists of a leopard's head erased, langued, ppr., with the motto QUAE SURSUM VOLO. Corresponding to the leopards (Scots, lions) of M'Ghie, the M'Kies of Larg carry a lion in chief, of which we give a representation on page 352. Thus both branches bore the lion with a difference.

THE BALMAGHIE M'GHIES.

Balmaghie, *i.e.*, the Town of Mackay, Kirkcudbrightshire, was the seat of the family from very early times. Chamber's *Caledonia*, the *Statistical Account*, M'Kerlie's *Galloway*, etc., record a tradition that the lands and church derived their name from a Celtic chieftain, who settled there in the distant past. But in the *Cart. of St. Cross* the church of Kirkandrew, Balmakethe, is mentioned among various other benefices granted in the 12th century by Fergus of Galloway to the Abbey of Holyrood. The MacEths must, therefore, have been settled in that quarter before that date. Gilmyhel M'acEth signed the Ragman Roll in 1296, and in 1339 a Michael Maege submitted to Edward III. *(Rot. Scot.)*. In the *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1426, Gilbert M'Gy is styled lord "of Balmage," and from him the descent can be traced for some generations.

I. GILBERT M'GY, Lord of Balmage, appears in the *Exchequer Rolls* of 1460. He was succeeded by William, of whom follows.

II. WILLIAM M'GYE, had sasine of Slogarie in 1471, and on the 16 Aug., 1482, had a charter under the Great Seal of Balmage and Slogarie. As this charter bears, he m. Blanch de Levenax, widow of Fergus Macdowell of Spottis. This document is witnessed by a William Makgye of Pluntoun, who had a charter of the lands of Pluntoun, 14 Aug., 1484. William of Balmage had a son Nicholas, of whom follows.

III. Nicholas, m. Elizabeth Maxwell, who bore him two sons:—Gilbert; and William, who succeeded, and of whom follows. Gilbert, who predeceased his father, left two daus. (*Acts & Decreets*, 149, 315):—Marion, m. John Redick of Balharro; and Janet, m. Robert Charteris of Kelwood.

IV. William, had a charter under the Great Seal of Balmage and Torris, 18 Mar., 1527. He had two sons:—Alexander, who succeeded; and James (*P.C. Reg.*, 10 Mar. and 7 Apr., 1597), m. Jonet, dau. of William M'Ghie, burgess, Kirkcudbright.

V. Alexander of Balmage, had a son Robert (*Acts & Decreets*, 439, 210), of whom follows.

VI. Robert, m. Grissel, dau. of John Charteris of Annisfield, and by her had a son John, of whom follows, and a dau. Marie (*Acts & Decreets*, 492, 155), who m. William Gordon of Airds.

VII. John, for whom his grand-uncle James acted as tutor 1629-37. John, who greatly extended his estate and was knighted, is first on record as Sir John in a sasine of 21 May, 1655 (*Dumfries Sas.*) He m. Barbara, dau. of Robert Anderson, burgess, Dumfries, by whom he had a son Alexr., of whom follows.

VIII. Alexander, m., first, Margaret, dau. of Archibald M'Kie of Myretoun-M'Kie, now Merton Hall, but had no issue by her. He m., secondly, Elizabeth Stewart, by whom he had a son and two daus. The daus. were:—Elizabeth, m. John, eldest son of Robert Ferguson of Craigdarroch (*Dumfries Sas.*, 1682); and Florence, m. first, Roger, son of John Gordon of Airds, secondly, James, son of Robert Charteris of Kelwood, and thirdly, Thomas M'Lellan of Balmangan. Of the only son follows:—

IX. William (*Dumfries Sas.*, 10 July, 1693). He m. Anna Ballantyne, who bore him two sons:—John, who succeeded; and Alexander, a surgeon, bailie of the burgh of New Galloway, who had

three daus. (Elizabeth, m. J. M'Courtty of Furnistoun; Mary, m. Robert Macmillan in Barlow; and Margaret).

X. JOHN MCGHIE, had sasine of Balmaghie, 10 May, 1704. He m. Isobel Gordon (*Dumfries Sas.*, 17 May, 1712), youngest dau. of Alexander, Viscount Kenmure, by his third wife, Lady Grissel, dau. of James, Earl of Galloway. He had by her Alexander, of whom follows; and William.

XI. ALEXANDER, succeeded in 1732, and left a son, of whom follows.

XII. JOHN, succeeded in 1739, and had a son Alexr., who predeceased him. Alexander, however, m. Grissel, dau. of Alexander, Viscount Kenmure, and had a dau. Grissel, who m. Captain James Anderson of the Marines, without issue.

William M'Ghie, merchant in Edinburgh, and his wife Eleanor M'Dowall had sasine of the estate of Balmaghie on 6 May, 1761, but in 1786 it was sold to Thomas Gordon.

THE M'GHIES OF AIRIE AND AIRDS.

The M'Ghies of Airie and Airds sprang from Balmaghie, but we cannot say at what date. The following James of Airie is the first whom we have been able to trace.

I. JAMES M'GHIE, had sasine of Airie and Culquhassan in Dec., 1642. He m., first, Janet Gordon, and secondly, Anna Kennethie, by the latter of whom he had Alexander, who succeeded.

II. ALEXANDER, m., first, Anna Fullarton, and secondly, Florence Maxwell (*Dumfries Sas.*, 29 Dec., 1703, and 15 Nov., 1705). By the second wife he had Alexander, who succeeded.

ALEXANDER McGHIE OF AIRDS.

FROM A PORTRAIT IN THE POSSESSION OF MRS CAPTAIN WEBSTER, HELENSBURGH

III. ALEXANDER, bought the estate of Airds 24 May, 1744, and was afterwards known as of Airds. He m. Elizabeth, dau. of Robert Gordon of Airds, and widow of Hugh Cairns of Lochhill (*Dum. Sas.*, 29 Sep., 1724), issue one, of whom follows:—

IV. ALEXANDER, m., first, Elizabeth, dau. of Mr. Todd, banker, Lendon, with issue:—John, of whom follows; Mary, m. Mr. Maclellan, and d. in 1817; and Jessie, m. David Blair of Borgue. Alexander, m., secondly, Agnes M'Kie, and by her had Nathaniel, of whom we give a plate portrait.

V. JOHN of Castlehill, m. Jane, dau. of the Rev. Wm. Donaldson, Parton, by whom he had six daus.:—Mary; Isabella; Elizabeth; Jane; Wilhelmina; and Anne. The eldest, Mary, m. Rev. James Anderson, Stoneykirk, to whom she bore one surviving child, Jeanie (now Mrs. Captain Webster, Heathfield, Helensburgh).

THE LARG, ETC., M'KIES.

This branch dates back to the time of king Robert Bruce. According to Barbour's *Metrical History of Bruce*, the hunted king, escaping from the beagles of John of Lorn, made his way on foot alone to an appointed trysting place near Loch Dee in Galloway, where he was hospitably entertained by widow Anabel and her three sons, M'Kie, M'Clurg, and Muiredach. During the night the king was joined by his brother and Sir James Douglas with about 150 men, and next morning the widow's sons gave an exhibition of their prowess with the bow which greatly delighted the Bruce; M'Kie with an arrow transfixed a brace of ravens perched upon a rock, while his brother Muiredach brought down the third corbie on the wing.

This incident is supposed to account for the brace of pierced ravens which find a place on the shield of M'Kie. The arms of M'Kie of Larg were never recorded in Lyon Register, but they are described in the Heraldic MSS. of Sir James Balfour, and may be blazoned as follows:—Argent, two ravens pendent from an arrow fessways piercing their necks proper, on a shield azure a lion passant of the field, armed and langued gules. Of these arms we give a

ARMS OF M'KIE OF LARG.

representation here, but unfortunately our artist has omitted the crest and motto, which are respectively a raven proper and LABORA. These arms are now borne by M'Kie of Bargaly, within a bordure componee of the first and second.

When the king came to his own he did not forget the loyal widow and her gallant sons, who had fought for him so well. He bestowed upon the family "the hassock of land 'tween Palnure and Penkill," to

wit, the thirty pound land of Cumloden in the parish of Minnigaff and stewartry of Kirkcudbright. It lies between the burns of Palnure and Penkill which flow into the River Cree, and measures about ten miles by three. It was divided into three ten pound lands, which were known as Cumloden-M'Kie, Cumloden-Murdoch, and Cumloden-M'Clurg.

Sir Patrick M'Kie and his successors heavily mortgaged the barony of Larg in the interest of the Solemn League and Covenant, and had their lands eventually forfeited. During the religious persecutions which followed three leading M'Kies, John of Larg, Anthony of Glencaird, and Alexr. of Drumbuie, were condemned to death. They all escaped, however, but with the loss of their lands, which went to pay the cruel fines imposed. The only family that weathered the storm was M'Kie of Palgown, from which descended the present M'Kies of Burgaly, a family that has religiously striven with a great measure of success for more than a century now to repurchase the old M'Kie lands in Galloway. Long may their tree flourish.

The first notice of the lands of Cumloden is the following in Robertson's *Index*:—"Carta Gilberti, fil. Nigelli, terram partem terre de Cameleden, in vic. de Dumfries," which may be translated, charter of Gilbert, son of Neil, of the third part of the lands of Cumloden, in the sheriffdom of Dumfries—"terram partem terre" being probably intended for "tertiam partem terre." According to the *Exchequer Rolls*, Cuthbert M'Makay paid £3 13s. 4d. for relief of lands in the county of Wigton, 1330.

I. Malcolm M'Kie of Cumloden, is the first, however, from whom a direct descent can be traced. He had two sons:—Patrick, of whom follows; and Gilbert, m. Marion de Keth, by whom he got the third part of the barony of Craichlaw, Longaster, and Barmagachrie, c 1450 (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, v, 69).

II. Patrick, had sasine in 1471 of the lands of Cumloden-

M'Kie, Fynataloch, Cloncert, Barnrower, and Baryarrak. He m. Marion Makmakene, by whom he got the lands of Drummagarne (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, VII., 302), and had a son of whom follows.

III. PATRICK MAKGE of Larg, m. Janet, dau. of Uchtred Macdowall of Garthland, and widow of Alexr. Adair of Kinhilt, as a charter under the Great Seal shows, dated 1529. An interesting relic of this couple, a monumental stone built into the wall of the old kirk of Minnigaff, bears the inscription:—"Hic jacet—Patricus M'Ke

THE MINNIGAFF STONE.

de Caloda me fieri fecit" (Here lies—Patrick M'Ke of Camloden caused me to be made). The known issue of Patrick was two sons:—Patrick, of whom follows; and Archibald of Stranord who had three children (Alexr.: Patrick of Craignyne: and Margaret, m. Patrick Heron of Kiroughtree).

IV. PATRICK of Larg, m. in 1550 Margaret, dau. of Alexr. Stewart of Garlies, and by her had issue:—Alexr., of whom follows: Duncan of Palgown; and Patrick.

V. ALEXANDER (who predeceased his father in 1591, and whose widow m., secondly, Alex ordon of Clanyard), m. Katherine, dau. of Sir Patrick Agnew of Lochnaw, hereditary sheriff of Wigton, contract dated 8 Oct., 1575, with issue:—Patrick, of whom follows; a son who had three sons (Alexr.: Patrick, who succeeded to Larg, 1646; and James of Crosbie, who had a son Robert, whose son John in 1691 succeeded to Larg and Palgown).

VI. PATRICK, had a charter under the Great Seal, 4 March, 1598, as Patrick Makkie, eldest son of the late Alexr. Makkie, son and heir apparent of Patrick Makkie of Larg, of the lands of Cairloden, Barrawer, Calcathane, Biach, Carriden, Fyntilbach with the isle in the loch thereof, Clonlouchagach, Carser, Baryarrock, Barjargane, all in Wigtonshire, and Clonquhard in Kirkcudbrightshire, now created into the free barony of Larg with the fortalice of Culgour as chief messuage.

Patrick, who was knighted before 1610, joined the regiment raised by Sir Donald Mackie of Strathnaver for service under the King of Denmark, and was wounded at the battle of Oldenburgh. He returned from the Continent in 1628, and that year became M.P. for the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, a position which he filled till 1639. Sir Patrick, an ardent Covenanter, was chosen president of the first meeting of Kirkcudbright stewartry War Com ittee on 27 June, 1640, and soon afterwards commanded a regiment of Galloway horse at the battle of Newburn, in which his only son Alexander fell after capturing a standard from the enemy. Zachary Boyd in a long poem entitled "Newburn Book" thus deplores the fall of young M'Kie:—

> "In this conflict, which was a great pitie,
> We lost the son of Sir Patrick M'Ghie."

Sir Patrick m., first, Susanna, 3rd dau. of Sir Thomas Kennedy of

Culzean, no issue. He m., secondly, Mary, dau. of Sir Uchtred Maclowall of Garthland, issue five :—

Alexr., k. at Newburn in 1640; Jean, m. John Houston of Drumastane, by whom she had a son Patrick; a dau. m Alexr. Murdoch of C' mlodlen; Agnes, m. George, son of John Gordon of Airds; and Grizel.

He m., thirdly, Isobel Kerr, Lady Greenheid, who survived him. Sir Patrick d. in 1645, and was succeeded by his nephew, Patrick M'Kie, bailie in Minnigaff, of whom follows.

VII. PATRICK in Minnigaff, m. Agnes (*Bargaly Charters*, under Craignell), issue one son of whom follows:—

VIII. PATRICK, was infeft in Larg in 1662, and had a son John (*Galloway Charters*), who m. Margaret, youngest dau. of Andrew Heron of Kiroughtree. The son predeceased the father, and his widow m., secondly, James Lidderdale of St. Mary's Isle. Patrick and John, father and son, were fined for their Covenanting principles, forfeiting their estate in 1680, which came into the administration of the Duke of Queensberry. After the Revolution the estate was restored to John of Penninghame, great-great-grandson of Alexander V., and thus of the 9th generation. Of him follows.

IX. JOHN in Penninghame, had sasine of Larg and Palgown, 2 June, 1691. He found the estate of Larg too encumbered to recover, and it passed to the Herons of Kiroughtree. He m. Elizabeth, dau. of Patrick Dunbar of Machermore (*Galloway Charters*), who on his death m., secondly, Andrew Heron of Bargaly. The issue of John's marriage was:—

Alexr., of whom follows; Anthony of Glencaird, of whom afterwards as Xa; and Margaret, m. Patrick Heron, yr. of Heron, and had issue.

X. ALEXANDER, served heir to his father in 1699 and became M.P. for the Stewartry in 1706. He m., first, an Helene, issue

three:—John, of whom follows; James, Judge-Advocate for Scotland, no issue; and Catherine, m. William Ramsay, M.D. Alexander m., secondly, Mrs. Christian Douglas, dau. of Sir James [illegible]nbar of Mochram, by whom he had a son Alexander.

XI. JOHN, succeeded his father to Palgown in 1752, and eleven years after sold it to John, Lord Garlies. He m. the Hon. Jane Ross, dau. of George, 12th Lord Ross, no issue. On his m. he took the name of Ross, and was afterwards known as John Ross-M'Kie. He was an advocate of the Scottish Bar, M.P. for the burgh of Lanark, 1741-6, and for the Stewartry 1747-68, paymaster for the Board of Ordnance, and afterwards receiver-general of Stamp Duties. He d. in London 1797.

Xa. ANTHONY M'KIE of Gleneaird, second son of John IX., m. Grizel Eccles, issue three:—William; John; and Agnes. He had also by another wife, Isobel M'Kie, a son John, of whom follows:—

XIa. JOHN, an extensive farmer along the water of Minoch, in 1777 held 13,000 acres from the Earl of Cassilis and 1400 acres from Lord Galloway. He m., first, Margaret Machutcheon, by whom he had issue:—James, of whom follows; and Mary. He m., secondly, Jane M'William, issue:—William; and twins, John and Isobel. He d. in 1783.

XIIa. JAMES M'KIE, purchased the estate of Bargaly 10 May, 1794, bought Craignell and Brochloch in 1801, and later on bought Drumbuie. He m. Ann, dau. of William M'Caa, issue:—John, of whom follows; and Elizabeth.

XIIIa. JOHN of Bargaly, who d. 1858, M.P. for the Stewartry, m.

Ann, dau. of Peter Lawrie of Ernespie, issue :—James, of whom follows; Peter, d. at Melbourne in 1842; John, d. in the East Indies in 1846; and Ann, d. at Carlingwark in 1841.

XIVa. JAMES of Bargaly, who d. 1867, M.P. for the Stewartry 1857-67, m. in 1853 Jane Wilson, only dau. of Archibald Horne of Balvarran and Inverchroskie, Perth, issue nine :—

John of whom follows; Peter Lawrie, d. 8 July, 1896, m Annie, dau. of James Hamilton Kennedy (issue, Angela); James Archibald; William Murray, m. Mary, eldest dau. of John Fildes (issue, John); Annie Lawrie; Agnes, m. John William Hutchison of Edingham and Lauriston Hall, with issue; Margaret Preston, m. Andrew Johnston of Halleaths, with issue; Eliza Nina, m. John Gladstone Mackie of Auchencaion; and Ellen Stormonth, m. Charles L. Johnstone, with issue.

XVa. LIEUT.-COL. JOHN of Bargaly, J.P. and D.L. of the Stewartry, commanded the 3rd Bat. King's Own Scottish Borderers during the late South African War, and wears the D.S.O. for distinguished conduct in the field.

That the families of Strathnaver and Galloway were related through Martin of Strathnaver was evidently accepted by Sir Robert Gordon, the northern historian. With Sir Donald Mackay of Strathnaver, his nephew, Gordon was intimately acquainted, and very probably had a personal acquaintance with Sir Patrick Mackie of Larg, so that he very likely gathered information from both. The Blackcastle MS., which is based upon an older family genealogical account, also says that a Martin of Strathnaver settled in Galloway, and we have already shown that he must have flourished c. 1260. Thus the Blk. MS. to some extent confirms Gordon. When Mackay

COL. JOHN M'KIE, OF BARGALY

of Strathnaver raised his regiment in 1626, so abundant was the supply of recruits that the object was accomplished in a few weeks. In the circumstances he would naturally select his own friends as far as possible. But one of his captains was Sir Patrick Mackie from distant Galloway. When he could get plenty men nearer home why go so far afield? May it not be that he looked upon Sir Patrick as a distant cousin?

That the argument from similarity of armorial bearings is a treacherous one goes without saying, but the similarity in this case is very striking. Both branches of the Galloway family carry the lion on their shield, which is also the emblem of the Aberach Mackays. In our account of the Aberach Mackay banner at pp. 269-85, we showed that the left hand with extended fingers was anciently inscribed upon the armorial shield of the Strathnaver Mackays. But in the gable of Glencaird House, an old M'Kie seat and now the property of Col. John M'Kie of Bargaly, may be seen a carved stone bearing the date 1694, the letters J. Mk., and A.H., two ravens, and also a left hand with extended fingers exactly as found in Strathnaver.[1] Thus like the Strathnaver men, the Galloway Mackays bore the sinister hand appaume as well as the lion.

1. In the preparation of this account we have been generously assisted by Dr. Norman J. M'Kie, Newton Stewart, who has put at our disposal his own notes based upon a recent elaborate search of the Public Records.

X. The Argyle and Western Mackays.

The earliest reference to these Mackays which we have found is in a charter by King Robert Bruce, 31 Mar., 1329, confirming two shanmarcate of land in Kintyre to Gilchrist macYmar McCay and to Gilchrist his younger son in heritage, with remainder to Ymar his elder son and his heirs (*Appendix* No. I.). Various writers have concluded that this Kintyre family is the Clan Aid whose genealogy is given in the Advocate's Library MSS. of 1450. This conclusion may be correct, but if it be it serves to show how inaccurately the 1450 MSS. recorded the genealogy of that family. Below we give the MS. List for some generations in the left hand column, and parallel to it the genealogy as recorded in the charter of the Bruce.

Farquhar, son of Ivor, son of Gilchrist, son of Gillespie, son of Gillananeamh, son of Gilchrist, son of Cormac, son of Gillamichael, son of Aidh.	Ivor & Gilchrist, sons of Gilchrist, son of Ivor, son of Aidh.

In the 1450 List the first three generations may be correctly recorded, but beyond that it does not seem to us of much if any value. Those who argue from this List that the Clan Aid had no connection with the Strathnaver Clan Aoidh have very slender grounds to go upon. It is an undoubted historical fact that the MacEths were closely connected with Somerled of Argyle, that they fought together and intermarried. In the unsettlement prevailing at

the time it is quite likely that some of these fugitive MacEths settled in Argyle and the Western Isles, where they took root under the spreading shield of the house of Macdonald. And that Donald of Strathnaver should take a wife from the island of Gigha in the early years of the 14th century is some confirmation of this view.

We have already shown at page 41 that M'Ge of the Rhins of Islay and Mackay in Mull served Angus Og Macdonald in an official capacity, early in the 14th century. On the 11th Aug., 1542, King James V. gave anew to Ivor M'Cay Mor the office of crowner of North Kintyre hereditarily, with the lands of Ugadale and Arnegill attached thereto "as these pertained to Ivor M'Cay Mor and his ancestors beyond the memory of man, held of the Lord of the Isles" (Ewir M'Cay more et ejus predecessoribus pertinuerunt ultra memoriam hominum, de insularum dominis tente). See the extract in our Appendix No. 16. On the 28th Sep., 1615, King James VI. gave anew to Donald M'Cay of Arnegill and his son Evir the office of crowner[1] of North Kintyre hereditarily, and the four merk-lands of Arnegill and Ugadale as these were given *novodamus* by King James V. to Donald's grandfather, Evir M'Kay-moir of Arnegill (*Appendix* No. 31). From these documents it appears that the Mackays held a very prominent position in Kintyre under the Lords of the Isles from an early period. Daniel Mackay was served heir to his father Evir, son of Donald, 20 Aug., 1662 (*Chancery Record*).

"In 1682 Catherine Mackay," says Blackcastle, "was served heir to her father Daniel in the lands of Ugadale, &c. She m. Torquil MacNeil of Tirfergus, Kintyre, and had a son Neil Macneil, who was served heir to his father Torquil, 21 March, 1729 (*Chancery Record*). This Neil of Ugadale m. the Hon. Margaret Crawford, eldest dau. of John, Viscount Garnock, and by her, who d. at Losset, Kintyre, 22 June, 1788, had a son Hector (*Scots Mag.*). The said Hector Macneal of Ugadale became a major in the Royal Marines and d. at Losset, 9 Dec., 1818, leaving a son George. George Macneal of Ugadale m. his cousin german, Miss Loring, 1821, and had an heir Hector, b. 10th July, 1822." Captain Hector Macneal of Ugadale d. in 1905 leaving a son Captain Hector to succeed

1. What is now known as the Ugadale Brooch was the crowner's official brooch or *braiste* as it was called in Gaelic.

In 1408 Brian Vicar Mackay obtained a charter of lands in Isla from Macdonald of the Isles (*Appendix* No. 4). In a minute of the Privy Council, 16 April, 1587, the name of "Neill Meky, officiar of of the Rynnis of Islay" appears among others. Again in the *P. C. Reg.*, Vol. VII., 10 Feb., 1606, we find "Neil Meky, crunair of the Ryndis of Illeay," and "Donald McCay, coroneil of the Oo and Clergy." From this it appears that Mackay of the Rhins of Islay was crowner of the island about the beginning of the 17th century.

On the 14th Aug., 1506, the following Mackays held lands of the king in Bute: Gilnew Mackaw, the half of the lands of Garachach; John Mackaw, the other half; Patrick Makkeae, half of the lands of Dunguild; and John Makkay, the third part of the lands of Scalpsey and Ard-Scalpsey (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*). Mr. Mackay of Blackcastle referring to the Bute Mackays says:—

"Several of this family spelt their name M'Kaw or M'Kau. Of this branch is said to be descended the present Barons de MacKau in France, one of whom was the Baron de Makau who represented Louis XV. at the Diet at Ratisbon and signed the French king's declaration, 14 May 1757 (*Scots Mag.*). His grandson, the Baron de Makau of the French Navy, sailed from Rochford, 4th May 1825, with an ordonance from Louis XVII. declaring the independence of St. Domingo (*Moniteur*, Aug. 12th; and *Edinburgh Courant*, 25th, 1825)."

XI. Other Branches of the Family of Mackay.

Clan Erchar or Vic Farquhar. The progenitor of this family was Farquhar, son of Iye IV. of Strathnaver, and physician to King Robert II., as we have shown already in our Introductory chapter and in the memoir of his father. He had a gift from Alexr. Stewart, Lord of Badenoch,[1] of the lands of Melness and Hope, 1 Sep., 1379, which the king confirmed by charter the same day (*Appendix* No. 2). On the 31st Dec., 1386, King Robert II. bestowed by charter on "our beloved and faithful Farquhar the leech" (dilecto et fideli nostro Ferchardo leche) the islands lying around the Strathnaver coast.

The fact that Sir Robert Gordon, who records from tradition, antedates Farquhar by about a century may indicate the comparative importance which tradition ascribed to this family in early times. As his father and elder brother were murdered at Dingwall in 1370, and as his nephew Angus VI. of Strathnaver was not only left a minor but died a young man leaving a son Angus Du in boyhood, it may well be that Farquhar and his successor of Melness filled a foremost place among the Strathnaver Mackays towards the close of the 14th century. By the beginning of the 16th century, however, the family of Melness waned, for Iye Roy of Strathnaver obtained the

1. Alexander Stewart, Lord of Badenoch, Earl of Buchan, and afterwards Earl of Ross, was a son of King Robert II. He quarrelled with the haughty and corrupt Church rulers of Moray, and made a liberal application of the torch to some of their property, and came to be known in the hands of ecclesiastical writers as "The Wolf of Badenoch" in consequence. He [illegible] was [illegible] Ross and king revenge goes without saying for that was the fashion of his time. But that he was so black as his name makes him does not follow. Romish writers are too prone to [illegible] those whom they do not love. As a case in point, King Victor Emmanuel of Italy is known to the Vatican as "The Wolf of Savoy" (Dr. Robertson's *Roman Catholic Church in Italy*, p. [illegible]) although a multitude of good Italians look upon him as the deliverer of their country.

nonentry of these lands in 1504, and seven years afterwards purchased from Donald M'Corrochy, "as discendit fra Farquhar Leiche," all rights over Melness and Hope (*Appendix* Nos. 8 and 9).

In 1624 the 1st Lord Reay bought the remaining portion of the Melness estate, to wit, the Little Isles of Strathnaver, from William M'Callan, whose brother Angus M'Callan held the four pennylands of Strathmelness in wadset. Though in the early years of the 17th century the patronymic of the family was M'Callan the proper surname was Mackay, for a grandson of Angus, viz., "William Macwilliam MacAngus *alias* M'ky" had a Precept of *clare constat* as heir to his father in the wadset of Strathmelness, 23 April, 1686, as we show in the Genealogy of the Aberach Mackays at p. 248. The old house of Strathmelness lay about three miles north west of what is known in more modern times as Melness House.

Polson. According to Sir Robert Gordon, the Polsons or *Siol* Phail are descended of Paul, son of Neil, son of Neil, son of Donald V. of Strathnaver. Consequently the said Paul was a contemporary of Neil Vass VIII. of Strathnaver. In 1430 Paul's father Neil obtained by charter from King James I. the lands of Creichmore and others in the parish of Creich, and the Great Seal Register shows that the family resided in these quarters for at least a century and a half after that date.

Although Neil Neilson fell in battle fighting against the Mackays in 1433, yet during the subsequent scramble for the lands of Thomas Mackay of Creich between the Rosses and Mackays, the Polsons gravitated towards their Strathnaver kindred. Sir John Polson, presbyter and afterwards chanter of Caithness, acted for Iye Roy X. of Strathnaver in 1497, in 1506, and in 1511 (*Appendix* Nos. 5, 6, 9). In document No. 5 of our Appendix he appears as Mackay's procurator. Again at the battle of Torran Du, as we showed already at pp. 82-3, the Polsons assisted the Mackays against the Murrays.

In the Sutherland List of men capable of bearing arms in the '45

a number of Polsons appear in the parishes of Loth and Kildonan, but the sept is not strong now numerically for some of them have adopted the name Macphail and others sign themselves Mackay.

ACHMONIE MACKAYS. From early in the 16th century this family of Mackays held an important place in Glenurquhart, Inverness-shire. In 1539 John Mac Gillies Mackay witnessed a sasine of Comarmore, Strathglass, to Chisholm of Chisholm, and in 1554 obtained a nineteen years' lease of Achmonie from the Bishop of Moray (*Cart. Mor.*). But John possessed Achmonie as early as 1545, when he suffered in a raid by the Macdonalds on Glenurquhart. His father-in-law, Euen Canychd, in that year was one of the tenants of Balmacaan; his own son Donald had a share of Balmacaan: his brother Bean Mac Gillies was principal tenant of Cartaly; and his nephew John Mac Donald Mac Gillies had a share of Inchbrine. Thus in 1545 the family had the great bulk of the glen in their possession, till in 1557 the bishop granted a perpetual charter of Achmonie to John Mac Gillies Mackay and his heirs by Catherine, dau. of Euen Canychd (*Cart Mor.*).

His great-grandson Gillies lost the lands of Achmonie c. 1670 for slaying the laird of Grant's chamberlain at a rent collection feast in Glenurquhart, but John Mackay, son of Gillies, recovered the estate and got a written title in 1721. The said John was succeeded by his son Alexander who fought for Prince Charlie in the '45 and d. without male issue. To Alexander succeeded his brother Donald, who was also out in the '45 and who was in consequence transported to Barbadoes. Donald, however, managed to make his escape, returned to Scotland and married. The great-grandchildren of the said Donald Mackay are as follows:—Duncan Mackay, now in the Argentine Republic; Charles, a bailie of Inverness; John d. in Chicago; Donald, d. in California; William, a solicitor in Inverness; Mary (Mrs. Neil Smith); Elizabeth (Mrs. Alexander Forbes, deceased); Katherine (Mrs. William Macdonald); Ann, d. unmarried;

and Caroline (Mrs. James Davidson, deceased).

For further particulars the interested reader should consult *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*, by Wm. Mackay, solicitor, Inverness, 1893.

Ison, Eason, and Esson. These are three different forms of the name Iyeson or Mackay. In Ison and Esson Iye appears as a prefix while in Mackay it is a suffix; and as in various old documents Mackenzie is represented by Kennochson, so naturally enough Mackay got twisted into Ison when the name was handled by some English speaking people.

In the latter half of the 16th century reference is made in the Privy Council Register to Isons in and about Wick. For example, on 15th April, 1566, the Sutherlands of Duffus are reported to have burnt the house of Andrew Bain in East Clyth, and to have at the same time killed Alexander Ison and his two sons. According to Sir Robert Gordon, the Bains were a Caithness branch of the Mackays, and these Isons were probably their kinsmen. This name also appears in various other entries, and was generally borne by people about Wick, the English speaking part of Caithness. We are not aware that Ison is now used as a surname, but Eason or Esson is not uncommon along the southern shore of the Moray Firth.

Mackie. Sir Donald of Strathnaver and his contemporary Sir Patrick of Larg signed themselves Mackie. The form Mackie was thus common to Strathnaver and Galloway, but probably the majority of those who bear the name now are descendants of the southern family.

Mack. This form, found in Berwickshire and the neighbourhood, is supposed to be a docked form of Mackie. Just as in Sweden *Mac* was dropped and *Key* only retained, so in the south of Scotland the suffix *ie*, which has a diminutive significance there, appears to have been thrown away by some folks to secure the more robust form

MACK. According to our interpretation, such a form could only appear in a purely English speaking part of the country; and we have been in correspondence with some Macks who trace themselves back to Mackie as we have described.

APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

Appendix of Documents.

No. I. Excerpt CHARTER of CONFIRMATION by King Robert Bruce to Gilchrist Macymar M'Cay and to his younger son Gilchrist in heritage, with remainder to Ymar his elder son and his heirs, of two shanmarcate of land in Kintyre for the service of two bowmen in the king's army, given at Maynreth, Galloway, 31 March, 1329 :—

HADDINGTON CHARTERS.

Robertus etc. Sciatis nos etc. confirmasse Gilchristi Macymar M'Cay pro homagio et seruitio suo duas shanmarcatas terre in Kentyr, viz., denariatam terre de Arydermeile, denariata terre de Ballostalfis, denariata terre de Kyllewan, et denariata terre Seskamousky. Tenend. et habend. eid. Gilchristi et Gilchrist filio suo minore et heredib. dicti Gilchrist de corpore suo legitime procreatis seu procreandis, et deficientib. illis heredib. Ymaro filio suo seniori et heredib. suis de corpore suo legitime procreatis seu procreandis de nobis heredibus nostris in feodo et hereditate per omnes rectas metas et divisas suas cu. omnimodis libitatib. moditatib. asiamentis et justis pertinentiis ad dictas terras spectantibus seu spectare valen. in futuru. quomodo faciendo inde servitiu duorum architenentiu in exercitu nostro. In cuius rei etc. Apud Maynreth in Galwida, vultimo die Marcii anno &c. vicesimo quarto.

No. 2. CHARTER of CONFIRMATION under the Great Seal by King Robert II. to Ferchard, the king's physician, of a gift of the

lands of Melness and Hope by Alexander Stewart, the king's son, to the said Ferchard, 4 Sept., 1379:—

Rob. Papers. Robertus Dei gratia rex Scotorum omnibus probis hominibus totius terre sue salutem. Sciatis nos approbasse ratificasse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse donationem illam et concessionem, quas dilectus filius noster Alexander Senescallus miles dominus de Badenach fecit et concessit Ferchardo medico nostro de terris de Mellenes et duabus partibus del' Hope cum pertinentiis, Tenend. et habend. Ferchardo cum omnibus et singulis libertatibus commoditatibus aysiamentis et justis pertinentiis suis quibuscumque ad predictas terras cum pertinentiis spectantibus seu quomodo juste spectare valentibus in futurum adeo libre et quiete plenarie integre et honorifice in omnibus et per omnia sicut carta dicti filii nostri eidem medico exinde confect. in se plenius juste continet et proporat. In cuius rei testimonium presenti carte nostre confirmationis nostrum precepimus apponi sigillum testibus venerabillibus in Christo patribus Willielmo et Johanne, Cancellario nostro, ecclesiarum Sancti Andrae et Dunkelden. episcopis, Johanne primogenito nostro de Carrie senescallo Scotie, Roberto de Fyffe et de Menteth filio nostro dilecto, Willielmo de Douglas, de Marr consanguineo nostro, comitibus , Apud Perth quarto die mensis Septembri et anno regni nostri nono.

No. 3. Charter by King Robert II. to Ferchard the leech, of the Little Islands of Strathnaver, lying between the Rowe Stoir in Assint and Rowe Armadale, 31 Dec., 1386:—

Rob. Papers. Robertus Dei gratia rex Scotorum omnibus probis hominibus totius terre seu clericis et laycis salutem. Sciatis nos dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse dilecto et fideli

nostro Ferchardo leche pro suo servitio nobis facto et faciendo insulas de Jura, Calwa, Sanda, necnon et Elangawne, Elanewillighe, Elanerone, Elanchoga, Elaneqwhochra, Elanecegelye, Elanenyofo, et omnes insulas nostras jacentes inter Rowestorenastynghe et Rowe Armedale, infra vicecomitatum de Innys., Tenend. et habend. eidem Ferchardo et heredibus suis de nobis et heredibus nostris in feodo et heredilate per suas rectas metas divisas cum omnibus et singulis libertatibus commoditatibus aysiamentis et justis pertinentiis quibuscunque ad easdem insulas pertinentibus seu pertinere valentibus in futurum libre quiete plenarie integre et honorifice bene et in pace faciendo nobis et heredibus nostris dictus Ferchardo et heredes sui servitia antiquitus inde debita et consueta. In cuius rei testimonium presenti carte nostre nostrum precepimus apponi sigillum, testibus reverendissimo in Christo patre Waltero Dei gratia sedes apostolice cardinali, venerabili in Christo patre Joanne episcopo Dunkeldensi cancellario nostro, Joanne primogenito nostro de Carrie senescallo Scotie, Roberto de Fyfe et de Menteth, Jacobo de Douglas, filiis nostris dilectis, commitatibus: Arcibaldo de Douglas et Thoma de Erskyne consanguineis nostris, militibus. Apud Edinburgh ultimo dei Decembris, anno regni nostri sextodecimo.

No. 4. Charter in Gaelic by Macdonald of the Isles to Brian Vicar Mackay, of lands in Isla, dated 1408. This Gaelic charter, the oldest extant in that language, was found in the possession of John Magee, county Antrim, a descendant of a family of Macgees who were once followers of the Macdonalds of Antrim. It is now preserved in the Register House, Edinburgh. A translation into English is appended:—

An ainm De, amen. Ataimse, Mac Domhnaill, ag bronnagh 7 tabhairt en mhairg deg go leith dfearann uaim pfhein agas om

oighribh do Bhrian Bhicaire Mhagaodh agas da oighribh na dhiaigh go siorthuighe suthain, ar son a [illegible] ise damh pfein agas dom athair romham, agas so air chun [illegible] agas air chonghioll go tteobhraidh se fein agas iadsan damhsa agas dom oighribh am dhiaigh go bliadhnamhail ceithre ba ionmharbhtha chum mo thighe, agas a cas nach biadh na bath soin ar faghail bhearadh an Brian huas agas oighriogh dhomhsa agas dom oighribh am dhiaigh da mharg agas da fhichit marg ar son na mbo ceeadna huas. Agas ar na habharuibh ceeadna ataiuse dom cheanghal fein 7 ag ceanghal moighriogh um dhiaigh go deiriogh an bheatha na fearainn soin, moille re dthoruibh mara agas tire, do sheasamh agas do chonghbhail don mbhriain bhiocaire Mhagaodh huas agas da oighribh go siorthuighe na dhiaigh mar an ceeadna; agas as iad so na fearainn thugas dho fein agas da oighribh go brach, iadhon, Baile bhicare, Machaire, Learga riabhoige, Ciontragha, Graftol, Tocamol, Wgasgog, Da ghleann astol, Cracobus, Cornubus, agas Baile neaghtoin. Agas ionnas go mbiaidh brigh, neart, agas laidireacht ag an mbrontanas so bh[illegible]aim, ceanglam aris me fein agas moighriogh go siorthuighe fo[illegible] do sheasaibh agas chonghbhail don mbhrian reimhraite agas [illegible]ogurihb na dhiaigh go deiriogh an bheatha le cuir mo laimhe agas mo sheala sios an so a lathair na bfhiaghain so sios, agas an seiseamh la do mis na bealtuine, agas an bhliadhan so do bhreith Chriosta, mile ceithre ced agas hocht.

M'DOMHNAIL

a
EOIN T MAC DOMHNAILL.
chomhartha

a
PAT. III M'ABHRUIN.
chomhartha

FERCOS MAC BETH.

a
AODH X M'CEI.
chomhartha

TRANSLATION.

In the name of God, amen. I, Macdonald, am granting & giving eleven marks and a half of land from myself and from my heirs to Brian Vicar Mackay and to his heirs after him for evermore, for his service to me and to my father before me; and this on covenant and on condition that he himself and they shall give to me and to my heirs after me, yearly, four cows fit for killing for my household, and should these cows not be forthcoming the above Brian and his heirs shall give to me and to my heirs after me two & forty merks instead of the foresaid cows. And for the said reasons I bind myself and I bind my heirs after me to the end of their lives these lands with their fruits of sea and land to maintain and to secure to the above Brian Vicar Mackay and to his heirs for ever after him in like manner; and these are the lands given to him & to his heirs for ever after him, viz., Baile Vicar, Machaire, Learga-riavach, Ciontragha, Graftol, Tocamol, Ugasgog, the two Glenastols, Cracobus, Cornubus, and Baile-nechton. And in order that there may be meaning, force, and strength in this grant which I make, I again bind myself and my heirs for ever under covenant this to uphold and to fulfil to the aforesaid Brian and to his heirs after him to the end of their lives by putting my hand and my seal down here in the presence of these witnesses below, on the sixth day of the month of Beltane and this year of the birth of Christ, one thousand four hundred and eight.

MACDONALD.

his
JOHN T MACDONALD.
mark

his
PAT III M'BROWN.
mark

FERGUS MACBETH.

his
IYE X M'CEY.
mark

No. 5. CHARTER by Donald of Isla, Lord of the Isles, to Angus of Strathnaver and to his elder son Neil by his wife Elizabeth, sister of the said Donald, of the lands of Strathhalladale and Ferancostgrayg in fee and heritage, at Arcaig, 8 Oct., 1415. The charter was registered in the books of the Lords of Council on 15 Feb., 1506, but a notarial copy is preserved in the *Reay Papers*:—

Comperit Sir Johne Polsoun, chanter of Cathness, servitor and procurator for Y Meky, and gave in this charter underwritten and desyrit the samyn to be transumpt and copiit attently, of whilk the tenor follows: "Sciant presentes et futuri quod nos Donaldus de Ile, Dominus Insularum, dedimus concessimus et presenti carta nostra confirmavimus nobili viro Angusio Eyg de Strathnawir et Nigello filio suo seniori, inter ipsum et Elizabetam de Insulis sororem nostram procreato, et ipsius filii heredibus masculis de ejus corpore legitime procreandis; Et si contingat dictum filium sine heredibus masculis de ejus corpore legitime procreandis de hac vita migrare, alteri filio superviventi qui successive supervivere contingat de suis germanis fratribus et illius superviventibus filii heredibus masculis de ejus corpore legitime procreandis, Terras de Strathalgadill et ferancostgrayg habend. et tenend. per suas rectas metas et antiquas fines in hereditatem et feodem de nobis et heredibus nostris sibi et supradicto suo filio et illius filii heredibus masculis ex eius corpore legitime procreandis; Reddendo inde nobis et heredibus nostris dictus Angusio et eius filius ut supradictum est et ipsius filii heredes masculi de eius corpore procreandi eorum homagium famyliaritatem et servitium contra omnes hujus vite mortales dolo et fraude remotis ut per ipsius Angusii patentes literas nobis inde factas plenius continetur solvendo etc. nobis et heredibus nostris prefatus Angusius et eius filii seu heredes predicti wardam et releviam quotiens fuerit debitum et solvi consuetum nos vero et heredes nostri predictas terras de Strathalgadil et ferancostgraygis concedimus dicto Angusio et heredibus suis supradictis in planis pasturis campis et nemoribus

stagnis rivis aquis molendinis venationibus piscariis cum ceteris aliis emolumentis et pertinentiis sicut melius plenius liberius et honorificentius certe in hereditate solvent dari seu literis confirmari. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus apponi fecimus. Data apud insula Marcage [marginal note, "or in Arcaig"] octavo die mensis Octobris, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinto decimo hiis testibus, Lauchlano Makgillane et Roderico Makeloid cum diversis aliis."

The quilk desyre the Lords understandand juste and consonand to resone decerns and ordans the sade charter to be transumyt attently and to be put in public forme, and als meikille faith to be gevin to the sade transumpt as to the principal charter in judgment and outwith in all tymes to cum, notwithstanding the cancellation and revin of the samyne reklessly and in the bak be evil disposit persons, because yat public mandate and summonition of all partiis hafand or traistant to have intress yairto to her. the samyn to be transumyt ordorly procedit as efferit.

No. 6. Instrument upon a Precept granted by King James IV., upon Douglas of Pittendriech chamberlain of Moray, for paying to Y Meky of Strathnaver £20 Scots per annum. The Precept is dated 18 July, 1496, and the Instrument 2 April, 1497:—

Reay Papers. In Dei nomine, amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis pateat evidentur quod anno incarnationis Dominice millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo septimo mensis die Aprilis die secundo, indictione decima quinta pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris ac domini nostri Alexandri, divina providentia pape, Sexti anno quinto In venerabilis viri magistri Jacobi Achlect commissarii vicarii generalis Cathanen. ac precentoris eiusdem pro tribunali Seden. et testium infrascriptorum presentia personaliter constitutus nobilis vir

Odo M'Ky de Straithnauer quandam literam stipendii in pergamino scriptam sigillo priuato supremi Domini nostri Regis cera rubea albe impressa penden. sigilla. michi notario publico subscripto legi exemplari transumi extrahi hanc in publicam formam transumpti redegi instanter. Requisitus sui transumptoque exinde confecto fidem in judicio et extra dari et concedi per prefatum dominum commissarium in ecclesia Cathedrali Cathanen. prefat. loco inferius assignat. pro tribunali Seden. ut prefertur cum interpositione et appensione sigilli sui debita cum instantia postulabat Quamquidem literam sic in judicio productam sanam integram non viciatam non cancellatam nec in aliqua seu parte suspectam sed omnibus prorsus vicio et suspicione caren. prefatus dominus commissarius per me notarium publicum infrascriptum perlegi fecit cujusquidem litere tenor sequitur et est talis.

"James, be the grace of God king of Scottis, to our familiar squyar and servitor James Douglas of Pittendrich, our chamerlane of our lordship of Murray, and to all uthers our chamerlanis of Murray that sall happin to be for the tyme. Greeting. Wit ye us for the gud and true service to be doin to us be our lowit squyar Y Mcky of Straithnauer to have gevin and grantit be yir our lres. gillis and grantis til him the some of tventi pundis of usuale monze of our realme in his fee zearle and termelie to be pait to him and his factouris of the malis and profittis of our said lordschip, aye and quhill we provide ane leving and fee of land for the said Y Mcky in ane computent place lyand neir the boundis of Straithnauer. Quharfor we charge you, the said James our chamerlane and all vthers our chamerlanis forsaid that sall happin to be for the tyme, that ye in our name thankfulli content pay and deliver to the said Y Mcky or to his factouris in his naim the said some of XX lbs. at twa termes of the zer, Witsunday and Mertimes in winter, be evin portions of our saids malis of our lordschip of Murray enduring the tyme above writtin onder all pain and charge that efter may follow; the quhilk some being pait be zou, as said is, we sall make the samyn

be weill allowit to zou be zour comptis be the auditouris of our Chakker, and commandis and chargis thame to mak allowans to zou yairoff as efferis—Delivering yir our lres. be zou sein and onderstanding againe to the said Y Mcky onder the charge forsaid. Gevin onder our previe seill at Edinburg the XVIII day of July, the zer of God ane thousand four hundreth ninti and sex zeirs, and of our king the nynt zer, per signaturum."

Post cuius uidem litere presentationem et lecturam prefatus dominus commissarius attendens. postulationem et requisitionem hujusmodi fore justas et rationi consonan. michi notario publico infrascripto prefatam literam transumere extrahere exemplificare et ad futuram rei memoriam in publicam formam transumpti servatis seruandis redigere expresse mandavit ne vetustate vel casu fortuito vigores suos ametteret unde innocens in defectu probationis suis juribus probarentur de testimonio veritatis appensionem sui sigilli presenti transumpto concessit et appendi fecit ut in judicio et extra civilibus locorum sicut predicte litere originali plena fides temporibus futuris adhibeatur super quibus omnibus et singulis prefatus Odo Mcky a me notario publico subscripto sibi fieri petiit unum vel plura publicum seu publica instrumentum seu instrumenta acta erant hec in loco concistoriali ecclessie Cathedralis Cathanen. prefat. hora quasi vndecima vel eo circa ante meridiem sub anno mense die indictione et pontificatu quibus supra presentibus ibidem venerabilibus et discretis viris, Magistro Waltero Fenton cancellario Brechanen. canonicoque Cathanen., dominis Adamo Fern vicario penitentiario ecclesie Cathedralis prefat., Donaldo Swyne, Jacobo Wormet, Wilmo. Achlect, Roberto Fern, capellanis chori eiusdem ecclesie Cathedralis Cathanen., Wilhelmo Mcky et Johanne Kenachson, armigeris, testibus ad premissa vocatis pariter et rogatis.

Et ego vero Johannes Poilsoune presbiter Cathanen. diocessios publicus sacris apostolica et imperiali autoritatibus notarius quia premissis omnibus et singulis dum sic ut premittitur agerentur dicerentur et fierent unacum

prenominatis testibus presens personaliter interfui Eaque omnia et singula sic fieri et dici vidi scivi et audivi ac in notam cepi Ideo hoc presens publicum instrumentum manu mea propria scriptum exinde confeci publicavi et in hanc formam publicam redegi signoque nomine cognomine et subscriptione meis solitis et domini precentoris ac commissarii Cathanen. et de eius speciali mandato subscripsi requisitus et rogatus.

Johes. Poilsoun, pbr.

No. 7. CHARTER under the Great Seal by King James IV. to Odo Meky in Strathnaver, of the lands of Farr, Armadale, Strathy, Dilred, Cattack, Golspie, lands in Stroma, etc., formerly pertaining to Sutherland of Dirled executed for rebellion, but now given by the king to Mackay hereditarily for a red rose from the lands of Dilred on the feast of the nativity of the Baptist, should it be required, 4 Nov., 1499:—

Jacobus Dei gratia rex Scotorum omnibus probis hominibus totius terrae suae clericis et laicis Salutem. Sciatis nos pro bono fideli et gratuito servitio nobis per dilectum servitorem nostrum Odonem (alias Y) Makky in Straithnavern tam tempore pacis quam guerre impenso et impendendo et signantur in captione et apportatione nobis quondi Alexr. Sutherland de Dilrid et aliarum decem personarum ejus complicium nostrorum rebellium et ad nostrum existen. dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse dicto Odon. Makky et heredibus suis omnes et singulas terras subscriptas, viz., Terras de Fer, Armidill, Strae, Rynivee, Kynald, Gollespy, Dylrid, Cattak, Bronach, Kilchallumkill in Strabroray, Davach Lochnaver, Davach Erebull, et duas denariatas terrarum de Stromay, cum molendino de Kynald cum suis pertinen., jacen. in Caithness et Sutherland infra vicecomitatum nostrum de Inverness. Quaequidem

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terrae et molendinum cum suis pertinen. fuerunt dicti quond. Alexr. Sutherland hereditarie, et nunc nobis pertinent et in manibus nostris legitime devenerunt ratione forisfacturam per justificationem dicti quond. Alexr. Sutherland de proditoria traditione convicti, Tenend. et habend. omnes et singulas predictas terras de Fer, Armidill, Strae, Rynivee, Kynald, Gollesby, Delrid, Cattak, Bronach, Killchallumkill in Strabroray, Davach Lochnaver, Davach Erebull, et duas denariatas terrarum de Stromay, cum molendino de Kynald cum suis pertinen. dicto Odoni alias Makky et heredibus suis de nobis et successoribus nostris in feodo et hereditate in perpetuum per omnes rectas metas suas antiquas divisas prout jacent. in longitudine et latitudine, in boscis etc., Reddendo annuatim dictus Odo Makky et heredes sui nobis et successoribus nostris pro praedict. terris et molendino cum pertinentiis unam rosam rubeam in festo nativitatis beati Joannis baptiste supra solum predictarum terrarum de Delrid nomine albae formae si petatur tantum. In cuius rei testimonium presenti cartae nostrae magnum sigillum nostrum appendi praecipimus, Testibus etc., apud Inverness quarto die mensis Novembris 1499, et regni nostri duodecimo.

No. 8. Gift of Non-Entry by King James IV. to Y Mcky, of the lands of Strathnaver, Fermacostrig, Straithaliday, Creichmor, Assent, Laidroigith, Gruyddech davach [apparently the Laid of Rogart and the davach of Gruids], Edderachilis, the Little Isles of Strathnaver, and a part of Strathflete, dated 15 March, 1504, and entered in the books of the Lords of Council, 10 Feb., 1507:—

Acta Dom. Con.

James, be the grace of God king of Scottis, to all and sindri our officiaris liegis and subdittis quham it efferes quhais knawleg yir our lres. sall cum Greeting. Wit ze us to have gevin and grantit and be yir our lres. gevis and grantis to our lovit Y Mcky in Straithnaver

and his airis for his gude treu and thankfull service done and to be done to us, all malis fermes and proffittis of all and hale the landis of Straithnaver, Fermacostrig, Straithaliday, Creichmor, Assent, Laidroigith, Gruyddech davach, and Edderachilis, with the littil Ilis of Straithnaver and Assent, togidder with ane part of the landis of Strathflete, being in his handis and possessioun with yair pertinents for all the tyme yat yai hef bene in the handis of our predicessouris and ouris throw nonentre of the richtwiss airis yairto and of all termes to cum ay and quhill the richtwiss airis of the said landis be lauchfully enterit to the samyn and optene lauchfull state and sesing yairof, To be haldin and to be haid all and hale the said landis with the pertinentis being in our handis be resone forsaid with all malis and profittis yairof of all termes bygain and to cum, quhill the entre of the richtwis airis to the samyn, to the said Y Mckay and his airis with power to occupy the samyn with his awn guidis or to set them to tennentis as yai sall think most expedient, quhill the richtwiss air or airis of the said landis optene lauchfull state and sesen yairfreilie quietlie wele and in pece bot ony revocatioun or agin callin of us or our successouris quhatsumever. Quhairfore we charge stratlie and commandis all and sindri our officiaris leigis and subdittis forsaid yat nain of you tak apone hand to do ony thing incontrar thir our lres. of gift maid to the said Y Mcky and his airis nor to mak him nor yaim na maner of wexation inquietation nor distrublans yairintill, bot yat he and yai may brouke and joiss the landis abone writtin in all thingis accordin to this our said gift for all the tyme forsaid under all the heist pane and charge yat efter may follow. Gevin under our privie sele at Edinburgh XV day of Marche, the zer of God JMVC and IIII zeris, and of our regune ye XVII zeire.

No. 9. Procuratory of Resignation by Donald McDonchy of Melness in favour of Iye Mcky and his son John, of the lands of

Melness, Mussel, Hope, and the salmon fishings of the water of Hope, dated at Invernaver, 30 Sep., 1511:—

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In Dei nomine, amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis pateat evidentur quod anno incarnationis Dominice millesimo quingentesimo undecimo mensis vero Septembris die ultima Indictione decima quinta Pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris ac domini nostri domini Julii divina providentia pape secundi anno septimo, In mei notarii publici subscripti et testium subscriptorum presentia personaliter constitutus providus vir, Donaldus McDonchy[1] de Melliniss, non vi aut metu ductus nec errore lapsus sed mera et spontanea voluntate sua ac animo deliberato ut confessus est omnibus melioribus modo et forma via jure et causa quibus potuit fecit constituit creavit et solemniter ordinavit nobilem et potentem dominum Henricum Sinclair de eodem suum verum legittimum irrevocabilem et indubitatum procuratorem actorem factorem in quorum que suorum infrascriptorum gestorem ac nunciumspecialem unacum potestate substituendi unum vel plures procuratorum et procuratores qui in hujus modi negotio consimilem habeat et habeant potestatem ad resignand. et demittend. pure et simpliciter ac sponte et absolute in manibus serenissimi invictissimi domini nostri Jacobi, Dei gratia Scotorum regis illustrissimi, totas et integras terras suas viz., Melliness, Mossell, et Hoip, unacum aqua salmonum ejusdem ville de Hoip, tanqnam in manibus domini superioris earundem etiam cum pertinen. necnon totum jus et clameum quod sibi competit et competere poterit in eisdem et ad conferend. denuo per prelibatum supremum dominum nostrum Regem dictas terras cum pertinentiis Odoni Meky et eius filio Johanni hereditarie de se et heredibus suis

1. On the back of the parchment in the handwriting of about 1600 there is written, "Th[illegible] Donald our, otherwise, McCorrochy's letter of Procuratory as discendit fra Farquhar Leiche, to resing all his lands of Stratnane, within writtin in our sourane lordis handis".

A little lower in the handwriting of about 1670 this appears, "Proie of resignan. be Donald McCourchie of the landis of Melnes, Hope, and salmon fishing thereof in favours of Eye Mel[illegible] and his son, 1511.

In the body of the document Donald is said to have been a McDonchy, but in these two dockets he is described as McCorrichie. Evidently he was traditionally known as McCorrichie, i.e., the son of Murdo.

imperpetuum pro quadam summa pecuniarum, videlicet, centum mercarum quam summam in auro et argento prefatus constituens fatebatur se recepisse de manibus dicti Odonis in bona solutione et gratuita pre ma....ous deliberationem et hoc in warda et relivio uti idem constituens et sui antecessores easdem terras habuerunt et tenuerunt, Promissit etiam dictus constituens per sancta Dei evangelia juravit quod prefatum dominum Henricum Sinclare procuratorem suum vel substitutum vel substitutos ab eodem pro dicta resignatione facienda se nunquam revocare aut contradicere nec in ipsius contrarium publice vel oculte directe vel indirecte quovis quesito colore aliquali devenire sub omni pena In jure canonico aut civili conten. Ipso facto incurren. Et quotiens ipsum Henricum dominum Sinclar procuratorem suum aut ab eo substitutum vel substitutos revocare contigerit toticns de nono constituit et creat cum omnimoda irrevocabili potestate Promitten. Ratum et gratum firmum atque stabile totum et quicquid prefatus dominus procurator aut substitutus vel substituti ab eodem duxit aut duxerint faciend. in premisses vel aliquorum premissorum sub ypotheca et obligatione suorum bonorum omnium mobilium immobilium presentium et futurorum Super quibus omnibus et singulis prefatus Odo Meky a me notario publico subscripto unum vel plura publicum seu publica sibi fieri petiit Instrumentum seu Instrumenta Acta erant hec, Apud Innane. sub anno mense die indictione et pontificatu quibus supra, presentibus ibidem discretis viris dominis Magno feid curato de Creich, Donaldo Red capellano, Johanne Kennachson, Roberto Smyt, Johanne Malcomi heour McKennach, et Alexandro Mowet testibus ad premissa vocatis pariter et rogatis et hoc factum hora quasi octava ante meridiem vel eo circa ratificando hoc verbum interliniat. secundi.

Et ego Johannes Poilsone clericus Cathanen. dioc. publicus sacris apostolica et imperiali autoritatibus notarius quia premissis omnibus et singulis dum sic ut premittitur agerentur dicerentur et fierent unacum prenominatis testibus

presens personaliter interfui Eaque omnia et singula sic fieri et dici vidi scivi et audivi ac in notam cepi Ideo hoc presens publicum instrumentum manu mea propria scriptum exinde confeci publicavi et in hanc formam publicam redegi signoque nomine cognomine et subscriptione meis solitis et consuetis signavi in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum premi. sorum rogatus et requisitus.

Johannes Poilson, pbr.

No. 10. Bond of Friendship between Adam Gordon, Earl of Sutherland, and Iye Mckye, 31 July, 1517 :—

Reay Papers.

This indentor maid at Inverness, the last day of July the year of God 1517, betwixt ane nobile and mytie lord, Adam, erle of Sutherland on the ane pairt, and Y Mckye on the other pairt, in manner and form as after follows: That is to say, the said erle of Sutherland sal with his kin, freinds, tenants, and servants as well of property as tenantry, mak and keip the said Y Mckye, his tenants, his kin, freinds, and men, and all others depends on him unhurt, hermit, or skaithed in ony manner of way, other than law will, by them or onie depends on the said earle of Sutherland, frae this day forth be word or deed; also the said Y Mckye sal keep the said earle of Sutherland his overlord, and his free tenants as weil of tenantry as property, unhurt or skaithed be him or onie depending on him be onie way, other than law will, frae this day forward, and for the lands he had of the said erle of Sutherland in property, the said Y Mckye sal frae Whitsunday furth discharge him thairot or apprys the said earle therefor. And this indentures to endure for all the days of their lyfe, and failand, as God forbid, that ather of the said parties brek the other in ony point above written, in that case the party breaking bynds and obleiss him, his airis, exers., and assignies to that party keipand, his airs, exers., or assignies in the sum of ane thousand

merks usual money for hurts, skaiths, damages, and expenses maid and sustentit be the party keipand; and therefor binds and oblisses them be all their gudes, movable, unmavable, present, and for to cum. In faith and witness whereof the said pairties have sworn their great aith, and interchangabile subscribit this writ with their hands, yeir, day, and place foresaid, before thir witnesses, William Keyth of Inverugie, Alexander Irving of Drum, Alexander Irving, Maister Robert Monnorgyn, Sir John Auchlek, with utheris dyverse.

No. 11. Bond of Friendship between Adam, Earl of Sutherland, and John Mcky of Strathnaver, 16 Aug., 1518[1]:—

Bk. Ms.

Thir indentouris maid at Abbirsco, the XVI day of August in the zeir of God JMVC & XVIII zeirs, proportis and beris witnes in this said indentouris that it is aggreet and fully accordit betwixt ane noble and mychty lord, Adam Gordone, Erll of Suthyrland, on the tayne pairt, and ane honorabill man callit Johnne McKy of Strathnaver on the tother pairt, in forme and effect as efter follois: That is to say, the said Johnne Mcky is bundin and oblist be the faith and trewth in his body, the grit aith sworne, the Holy Ewangelist tuitchit, to fulfill thir punctis that efter follois, that is to say, I, the said Johnne McKy, is cumyne man and servand, with my friends, kynnismen, servands, and allies, and all uthers that will tak my pairt, to be leill and trew and afald to the said lord for all the dais of my lyf, the kyngis guid grace exceptit, the Governour [Regent], and my lord of Huntlie; and sal be ryde with kynnismen and friends and all uthers that will tak my pairt to be ryde and mak service with all my powar, as said is, to help, defend, and suppli the said lord in all manner of thingis quhen ever I, the said Johnne, is chargit or may get wit be the said lord or

1. No. 10 sealed a compact between the houses of Mackay and Sutherland the previous year, but meantime John Mackay of Strathnaver had succeeded his deceased father Iye, and by No. 11, takes up a similar friendly attitude towards his overlord for the specified lands which he holds within the earldom of Sutherland.

his servands. And gif ony man cummis in oni pairt pretendand to invaid or do skaith to the said lord, men, servands, or landis, and also gif Alexander Suthyrland cummis in oni pairt pertenand to the said Johnne, or in oni uther pairtis neir the bundis of Suthyrland, or in Suthyrland, or oni uther man quhat sumevir he be, that I, the said Johnne, sal do my diligence and powar and tak the said Alexander Suthyrland or oni uther that takis his pairt, and sall bryng thair personis to the said lord so that the said lord sall defend me afor the kyng and the lordis, gif I the said Johnne beis callit thairfor, as law will; and it sall be na tynsell nor forfalting to the said Johnne of the landis that the said Johnne has in his feu, that is to say, the VII davachs in the hycht of Straithflet, that is to say, the lands of Larg, Schennis, Moy, Ryne, and Cragy; and alsua gif the said Johnne failzies in oni punctis befor expremit, that the said Johnne sall forfalt and tyne the said lands of Larg, Schennis, Moy, Rynne and Cragy.

And alsua the said lord byndis and oblissis me be the faith and trewth in my body, the gret aith sworne, to be ane guid lord and maister to the said Johnne McKy, kynnsmen, and freinds for all the dais of my lyf, that I, the said Adam, erle of Suthyrland, sal be leyl and trew, and all uthers that will tak my pairt sall defend and manteine the said Johnne McKy, kynnismen, and freinds agains all men that will tak his contrar pairt, the kyngis guid grace exceptit, the Governour, and the erll of Cathnes the quhilk hes my band; and I the said lord sall gif to the said Johnne McKy the VII dawchis befor wryttin for his guid service to be doyne to me, the said erll of Suthyrland, for fulfilling of the punctis above writtin; and I, the said Adam, erll of Suthyrland, sall nocht reset nor yet agre with Johnne Murray, na yet his kynnismen, without consent and awyse of the said Johnne McKy, and in likwyse the said Johnne Mcky sall not agre with the said Johnne of Murray, na nane of his kynnismen, without consent and awyse of the said lord. And gif sa happinis that the said lord or the said Johnne McKy failzies or breikis in thir punctis befor writtin, that the pairty failzeand or breakand sall pay to the pairte

keipand the sowme of ane thousand merkis usual money of Scotland, that is to say, the ane third to the kyng, ane third to t .rk, and ane third to the pairte; and gif it beis that thir indentouris be nocht sufficient in themselves, that it sall be lesum to the said Adam, erll of Suthyrland, and to the said Johnne McKy to reforme thir wrytenis quhil they be sufficient. And for the mair securitie I, the said Johnne McKy, hes procurat the scill of ane honorabill man, the lard of Skelbo, and hes affixit to this present writ with my subscriptione manuall, day, and place abovewrittin, befor thir witnes, William Bailze of Ardnele, William Gordone son and apparand ayr to James Gordone of the Cawbrach, Angus McKy, Donald Bane, Angus Kennochtsoune, Sir Laurence Smyth, Henry Suthyrland, with utheris diverse and syndry.

No. 12. Bond of Friendship between John Mackay of Strathnaver and Alexander, Master of Sutherland, by which the former, of his own free will, became bound to bear himself towards the said Master as he had promised to do towards his father, Earl Adam, confirming the same by touching the Gospels and the relics of Saint Gilbert, within the cathedral church at Dornoch, 6 July, 1522:—

Beat Papers.

Curia tenta in ecclesia cathedrali Cathanensi per discretum virum, dominum Robertum McRaith, vicarium de Kilmaly, commissarium substitutum ejusdem etc., sexto Julii anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo XXII.

Eodem die honestus vir, Johannes McKy de Straithnavir, ex sua propria confessione et spontanea voluntate, sacris Dei evangelis et almi Gilberti reliquiis per ipsum tactis, stricte se obligavit, magno interveniente juramento, adhibere prestare ac realiter et cum effectu facere tale homagium, servicium et humilitatem honorabili viro, Alexandro Gordone, Magistro Sutherlandie, in futurum quale et etiam

simile id et totum ipse Johannes promisit et se obligavit facere nobili et potente domino, Ade, comiti ejusdem, secundem tenorem, vim et effectum cujusdam contractus inter dictos comitem ex una et Johannem McKy ex altera initi et facti; et ad perimplendum huismodi contractum in omnibus suis punctis et articulis dicto Magistro Sutherlandie secundum tenorem ejusdem ipse Johannes ex sua propria confessione sub pena excommunicationis monitus fuisset. Pariformiter dictus Magister Sutherlandie fideliter promisit defendere, protegere et manutenere dictum Johannem McKy modo in forma quibus dictus comes obligatus fuit secundum tenorem et effectum dicti contractus etc., presentibus ibidem dominis Thoma Murray, cantore Cathanensi etc.[1]

No. 13. CHARTER under the Great Seal by King James V. to Donald McKy in Strathnaver, of the lands of Strathnaver, lands in Sutherland, Caithness, and Orkney, which pertained to his father Iye McKy, but which fell into the king's hands by reason of nonentry, these lands being now formed into the barony of Farr, Mackay promising to give suit and presence yearly at three courts in Inverness, dated 16 Dec., 1539:—

BLK. MS. Jacobus Dei gratia rex Scotorum, omnibus probis hominibus totius terrae suae, clericis et laicis, Salutem. Sciatis quia nos clare perpenden. et intelligen. quod quondam Odonus McKy, alias Y Mcky, pater predilecti nostri Donaldi McKy in Strathnaverne, ejusque predecessores, in omnibus singulis terris subscriptis, viz., Terris de Fer, Armidill, Straye, Rynevie, Kynnald, Golesby, Dilrid, Cattack, Bronich,

1. Shortly before this Earl Adam Gordon had resigned the lands of the earldom of Sutherland in favour of his elder son, the Master of Sutherland, and the latter now as head of the house practically by this document renews his father's compact with Mackay of Strathnaver.

The copy of this deed lying at Dunrobin Castle is docketed as follows: "Indorsed: Ane act quhar McKy gaif his aith to Alexander, erle of Suthirland, to do all things that he was oblist till do to Adam, erle of Suthirland." See *Sutherland Book*, Vol. III.

Kilchalumkill in Strabroray, Davach Lochnaver, Davoch Erebull, et duabus denariatis terrarum de Stromay, et mol ino de Kynnald, insula de Sanday extenden. ad tres denariatas terrarum, Melliness, et Hope, cum molendinis terris, molendinariis, multuris, aquis piscariis earundem pertinen., jacen. infra vicecomitatum nostrum de Inverness, per quondam nobilissimos progenitores nostros, quorum animabus propitietur Deus, hereditarie infeodate extiterunt, et quae terrae suprascriptae nunc nostris in manibus per nonintroitum, forisfacturam, bastardiam, escheatam, recognitionem, purpresturam, disclamationem, aut ullam aliam causam quamcumque preteritam vacant, remitten. et exoneran. easdem pro nobis et nostris successoribus dicto Donaldo, heredibus suis, et assignatis, ac jura earund. in ipsos pro perpetuo transferen., dedimus igitur et concedimus prefato Donaldo hereditarie, heredibus suis, et assignatis, omnes et singulas prenominatas terras de Fer, Armidill, Straye, Ryneve, Kynnald, Golesby, Dilrid, Cattack, Bronych, Kilchalumkill in Strabroray, Davach Lochnaver, Davach Erebull, et duas denariatas terrarum de Stromay, molendinum de Kynnald, insulam de Sanday, et insulam de Hoga extenden. ut premissum est, Mill ss, et Hope, cum molendinis terris, molendinariis, multuris, aquis piscariis et earund. pertinen., jacen. infra vicecomitatum nostrum antedictum, ac etiam presentis carte nostre tenore damus, concedimus, disponimus, et confirmavimus prefato Donaldo, heredibus suis, et assignatis, omne jus titulam interesse et juris clamem tam petitorum quam possessiorium quae et quam nos nostri predecessores aut successores habuerunt, habuimus, habemus seu quovis modo habere vel clamare poterimus vel poterunt in et ad prefatas terras et insulas, aut aliquam quarum partem firmas proficud et divoria earund. ratione heredum non introitus recognitionis, eschaetae, forisfacturae, bastardiae, purpresturae, disclamationis, seu ullo alio juris titulo ob quascunque actiones preteritas remitten. et exoneran. easdem, pro nobis et nostris successoribus prefato Donaldo, heredibus suis, et assignatis, ac ipsarum jura in ipso pro perpetuo transferen. et nuncip. placitum actionem nec questionem contra ipsos in futurum ab ea

monebimus cum omnium defectorum, tam non nominatorum quam nominatorum quos pro expressis in hac presenti carta nostra habere volumus supplemento Insuper pro causis suprascriptis et aliis causis et considerationibus rationabilibus nos ad hoc moven. unimus, anneccimus, creamus, erigimus, et intemporamus omnes et singulas prefatas terras de Fer, Armidill, Straye, Rynevie, Kynnald, Golesby, Dilrid, Cattack, Bronich, Killchallumkill in Strabroray, Davach Lochnaver, Davach Erebull, duas denariatas terrarum de Stromay, molendinum de Kynnald, insulam de Sanday, insulam de Hoga ut premissum est extenden. , Milliness, et Hope, cum molendinis terris, molendinariis, multuris, aquis piscationibus et ipsarum pertinen., maneriebus, terris, dominicalibus, nemoribus, toftis, croftis, cotagiis, partibus, pendiculis, lie outsettis, annexis, et ipsarum connexis, cum omnibus suis pertinen., in unam integram et liberam baroniam omni tempore a futuro baroniam de Fer nuncupand., ac volumus quod unica sasina nunc per prefatum Donaldum et omni tempore affuturo per ejus heredes et assignatos apud capitale messuagium, sive totum predictarum terrarum de Fer sumenda stabit et sufficiens erit sasina pro omnibus et singulis suprascriptis terris et insulis fuisset non obstante quod prefatae terrae non jacent contigue. Tenendas et habendas omnes et singulas prefatas terras de Fer, &c., prefato Donaldo McKy heredibus suis assignatis de nobis et nostris successoribus, in feodo et hereditate ac libera baronia in perpetuum per omnes rectas metas &c. Reddendo inde annuatim prefatus Donaldus heredes sui et assignati nobis et nostris successoribus tres sectas ad tria placita capitalia sive curias vicecomitatus nostri de Inverness, cum wardie, releviis, et heredum maritagiis quum contigerint tantum. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti cartae nostrae magnum sigillum nostrum appen. precepimus, testibus &c. Apud Striveling decimo sexto die mensis Decembris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo nono, et regno nostri vicesimo septimo.

No. 14. SASINE upon the charter preceding to Donald McKy, of the lands of Strathnaver, lands in Sutherland, Caithness, and Orkney, taken at the principal messuage of Farr, before the witnesses William Sinclair rector of Olrick, David Sinclair, Hugh Kenzosoun de Lyth, Donald de Milcomie, and Lord Donald of William (sic), 16 Feb., 1540:—

Ch. Papers. In Dei nomine, amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis pateat evidentur, quod anno Dominici incarnationis millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo nono, mensis vero Februarii die decimo sexto, indictione decima tertia, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christi patris et domini nostri, domini Pauli, divina providentia pape, Tertii, anno septimo: In mei notarii publici et testium subscriptorum presentiis personaliter constitutus honorabilis vir, Donaldus McKy, super capitali messuagio terrarum de Fare, jacen. infra vicecomitatum de Inverness, et ibidem commissionem vicecomitatus serenessimi domini nostri regis Jacobi Quinti, de data apud Striveling, die decimo sexto mensis Decembris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo nono, et sui regni anno vicesimo septimo, sub testimonio sui magni sigilli direct. honorabilibus viris vicecomiti et ballivis de Inverness, et Willielmo Davidsoune, portionario de Stanestell et Keis, cum illa clausula conjunctim et divisim etc. dicto Willielmo presentavit. Quiaquidem Willielmus eandem qua decuit reverentia ad manus recepit et michi notario publico subscripto eandem et perlegendam tradidit cuius tenor sequitur, et est talis Jacobus Dei gratia rex Scotorum vicecomiti et ballivis suis de Inverness, necnon dilecto nostro Willielmo Davidsoune, portionario de Staynestaill et Keis, ac eorundem cuilibet conjunctim et divisim vicecomitibus nostris de Inverness in hac parte, Salutem. Quid dedimus et concessimus dilecto nostro Donaldo McKy in Stranavern, heredibus suis et assignatis, omnes et singulas terras subscriptas viz., terras de Fare, Armidaill, Strauchte, Rynew, Kynnald, Golspy-tour, Dilrit, Cattaucht, Broynocht, Killecallumkill in Strathbroray, Davach Lochnaver,

Davach Ereboll, et duas denariatas terrarum de Stromay, molendinum de Kynnald, insulam de Sanday extenden. ad tres denariatas terrarum, et insulam de Hoga extenden. ad duas denariatas terrarum, Milliness et Hoipe, cum molendinis terris, molendinariis, multuris, aquis piscariis et earum pertinen., jacen. infra vicecomitatum nostrum de Inverness: In quibus omnibus singulis terris suprascriptis quondam Odonus McKy, alias Y McKy, pater prefati Donaldi McKy, eiusque predecessores per quondam nobillisimos predecessores nostros, quorum animabus propitietur Deus, hereditarie infeodati extiterunt; et quod terre suprascripte, nunc nostris in manibus per nonintroitum, forisfacturam, bastardiam, escheatam, recognitionem, purpresturam, disclamationem, aut ullam causam quamcunque preteritam vacant remitten. et exoneran. easdem pro nobis et successoribus nostris dicto Donaldo et suis heredibus et assignatis ac jura earundem in ipsos pro perpetuo transferen. Insuper pro causis suprascriptis et aliis causis et considerationibus rationabilibus nos ad hoc moven., unimus, annexímus, creamus, creximus, et incorporamus omnes et singulas terras prefatas de Fare, Armidaill, &c. &c. cum molendinis terris, molendinariis, multuris, aquis piscariis et earum pertinen., maneriebus terris, dominicalibus, nemoribus, toftis, croftis, cotagiis, partibus pendiculis, lie outsettis, annexis, et ipsarum connexis, cum omnibus suis pertinen., in unam integram et liberam baroniam omni tempori affuturo, Baroniam de Fare nuncupandum. Ac volumus quod unica sasina nunc per prefatum Donaldum et omni tempore affuturo per eius heredes et assignatos apud capitale messuagium sive locum predict. terrarum de Fare stabit et sufficiens erit sasina pro omnibus et singulis suprascriptis terris et insulis cum suis pertinen., simili modo ac si unica specialis seu particularis sasina apud quamlibet ipsarum partem et locum suscepta fuisset non obstan. quod prefate terre non jacent invicem contigue prout in carta nostra desuper confecta plenius continetur, vobis precipimus et mandamus quatenus prefato Donaldo vel suo certo actornato latori presentium sasinam predictarum terrarum, cum molendinis terris, molendinariis, multuris, aquis

piscariis, nemoribus, terris, dominicalibus, maneriebus, toftis, croftis, cotagiis, partibus, pendiculis, lie outsettis, annexis, et ipsarum connexis et omnibus suis pertinen. secundem tenorem dict. nostre carte quam de nobis inde habet juste haberi faciatis et sine dilatione et hoc nullo modo omittatis. Ad quod faciendum vobis et vestrum cuilibet conjunctim et divisim vicecomitatibus nostris in hac de Inverness, committimus potestatem datum sub testimonio nostri magni sigilli apud Striveling, die decimo sexto mensis Decembris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo nono, et regni nostri vigesimo septimo. Post cuiusquidem commissionis lectionem et eandem in se acceptationem dictus Willielmus in hac parte vicecomes sasinam hereditariam suprascriptarum terrarum cum pertinen. in dicto commissione et precepto contentarum secundum vim formam et effectum dict. commissionis et precepti dicto Donaldo per terre et lapidis traditionem ut moris est contulit et donavit, ac eundem in eisdem investivit super quibus omnibus et singulis dictus Donaldus a me notario subscripto sibi fieri petiit instrumentum ac instrumenta acta erant hec super capitale messuagium terrarum de Fare, hora undecima ante meridiem aut eo circa, sub anno, die, mense, indictione, et pontificatu quibus supra, presentibus ibidem venerabili viro Magistro Willielmo Sinclaire, rect. [illegible] Olrick commissarioque Cathanen., honorabili viro David Sinclaire, Hugone Kenzo-soune de Lyth, Donaldo de Milcomie, et domino Donaldo Willielmi, testibus ad premissa vocatis pariter et rogatis.

Et ego vero Johanne Symsoun presbyter Sancte Andree diocessis publicus sacra auctoritate apostolica notarius, quia etc. etc.

No. 15. Excerpt LIFERENT CHARTER under the Great Seal to Helen Sinclair, spouse of Donald Meky of Farr, of the lands of Balnaheg[illegible]s, Golval, Strathy, Armadale, Renovy, Melness, Dilret,

Cattack, and Broinach, with the Water of Farr from the big ford to the sea, the Water of Hallodale from Bighouse to the sea, the Water of Strathy, and the Water of Hope from the loch to the sea, 22 Feb., 1545:—

REG. MAG. SIG. Maria Dei gratia regina Scotorum etc. Sciatis nos etc., dedisse etc., delecte nostre Helene Sinclare, sponse Donaldi McKy de Far, in vitali redditu pro omnibus sue vite diebus tantum terris de Balneglis cum molendino multuris et pertinentiis eiusdem, Gallowall cum molendino multuris et pertinen. suis, Stray cum molendino multuris et pertinen. ejusdem, Armidaill cum molendino multuris et pertinen. ejusdem, Ranowy cum molendino multuris et pertinen. ejusdem, Melness cum molendino multuris et pertinen. ejusdem, Dilbart Cattock et Broynocht cum molendinis multuris et pertinen. earundem, aquam de Far a lato vado ad mare usque cum piscatione salmonum solita et consueta, aquam de Hallodale a lie Beghouse ad mare usque cum piscatione salmonum solita et consueta, aquam de Straye cum piscatione salmonum ejusdem solita et consueta, ac etiam aquam de Hoip a lacu ad mare usque cum piscatione salmonum ejusdem solita et consueta, jacen. infra vicecomitatum nostrum [illegible] Inverness etc. Apud Edinburgh vigesimo secundo die mensis Feb[illegible]i, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo quinto, et [illegible]ni nostri quarto.

No. 16. Excerpt CHARTER NOVODAMUS under the Great Seal by the king to Ewir McCay Mor, of the office of crowner of North-Kintyre, held of the lords of the Isles from time immemorial, and of the la[illegible] of Arnigill and Ugadale pertaining thereto, the old charters having been burnt and lost during a war in that province, dated 11 Aug., 1542:—

REG. MAG. SIG. Rex: cum clare constaret quod coronatoris officium insule et limitum de North-Kintyre, et 4 marcate terrarum de Armigill et

Ughedall in myd-Kintyre ad dict. officium spectantes, vic. Tarbet, Ewir McCay Mor et ejus predecessoribus pertinuerunt ultra memoriam hominum, de insularum dominis tente, et quod eorum veteres carte per guerram et perturbationes in illa provincia amisse, combuste et destructe extiterunt—de novo dedit dicto Ewir et ejus heredibus pro eorum bono servitio impenso et impendento—dict. officium et terras . . . . . Proviso quod dictus Ewir et heredes essent regi fideles; et si in hoc defecissent, hoc notorio cognito aut sufficienter probato suam heredem amitterent etc. etc.

No. 17. Substance of LETTER of OBLIGATION by Donald McKy of Strathnaver to Thomas Scott of Pitgormo, justice-clerk, dated and sealed at Tongue 20 July, 1538:—Donald McKy of Strathnaver to Thomas Scott of Pitgormo, justice-clerk, whereby the said Donald, conform to the law of Scotland by which landlords were made answerable for their tenants and followers, became bound to produce on fifteen days' notice ten persons therein named, viz., Keanzoch Farquhardson, R. Petersoun, John Angusson and his brother Rory Angusson, Patrick Farquharson, R. Petersoun, Thomas Williamsoun and his brothers John and Gavin Williamsoun, and Rory Jameson, before the Lords Justice at Inverness, for alleged reset and intercommuning with Donald and William Galdochson, rebels, accused of the slaughter of umquhill Donald Henryson and others.

No. 18. Substance of LETTER of OBLIGATION by Donald McKy of Strathnaver to Thomas Scott of Pitgormo, dated at Thurso 26 July, 1538:—Donald McKy of Strathnaver to Thomas Scott of Pitgormo, justice-clerk, by which the said Donald bound himself to

produce th[illegible]ons therein named, to answer before the Lords Justice the [illegible] of the then next justice-air at Inverness, for resetting Donald [illegible] William Galdauchson accused of the slaughter of Donald [illegible] and others.

REAY INVENTORY.

No. 19. Substance of CHARTER[1] by Andrew, Bishop of Caithness, to Donald McKy of Strathnaver and to his heirs male, of the lands and barony of Ardurness comprehending the lands of Galdwall, Kauldoull, Craniga, Baroul, Slains, Alslanmoir, Alslanbeg, Sandwatt, Island Hoa, and others therein mentioned, with their pertinents, and with the fishings of the Water of Farr, dated at Dornoch 7 July, 1540.

No. 20. GIFT by King James V. under the Privy Seal to Donald McKy of Farr, of the personal estate of certain persons escheated for absence from the muster at Lauder, 28 Nov., 1542:—

PRIVY SEAL REG.

Ane letre maid to Donald McKy of Far, his airis and assignais ane or na, of ye gift of all gudis movable and unmovable, dettis, takis, stedingis, obligaciounis, sounes of money and utheris quhatsumevir, quhilkis pertenit to Kenzioth McKennyth McFarsoun, Donald Henrysoun, Agnes (sic) Henrysone, Fynlay Clerk, Caudicht McAndroye, Thomas Johnson, Johnne Galioch, and now pertaining or ony wiss sal happin or may pertene to our souerane lord, be ressone of escheat throw thair being absent and remanying fra our souerane lordis oist and army convenit and gadderit at Lauder, incontrare the tennour of his hienes letres, proclamacionis, and chargeis maid

1. The charter is witnessed by "Job [illegible]oilsonne of Creich, Thomas Dunnet and Walter Grout, vicars of Dunnet and Cannisbey, John Symsoune and David Setoun, chaplains and notaries public."

thairupon, with power etc. At Edinburgh the XXVIII day of Nov., the zeir of God ane thousand fyve hundreth fourty and twa zeirs.

Per signaturam.

No. 21. Notarial copy of BOND of FRIENDSHIP between George, Earl of Caithness, John, Earl of Sutherland, Donald Meky of Farr, and Bishop Robert of Caithness, 28 April, 1549: —

At Girnego the XXVIII daye of Aprile, the yere of God ane thousand fyve hundreth fourty nyne zeirs, it is appointed, concordit, and finalie endit betwix nobill and potent lordis, ane reverend fader in God, ane honorabill man, that is to say, George erle of Caithness, Johnne erle of Suthirland, Robert eleet of Caithness, and Donald McKy of Far, for thame selfis, thair kin, freindis, part takkaris, partie purches, and allis, sall concur trew anefald part tak with uthir in all quarrellis, caussis, debaittis, questionis, actionis, persutis, business, adois quhatsumevir, in contrar all deidle, for all the dayis and termes of the saidis nobill lordis, ane reverend fadir in God, and honorabille manis lyfetymis, the auctoritie alanerlie exceptit; and athir of the saidis lordis and honorabille man sall gif thair leill, trew, and anefald counsall to utheris in all maner of business, and sal nethir heir nor se nor persave utheris skaith, hurt, nor ony detrement bot sall advertis utheris thairof be thameselff or sum mediattis, and incontinent thaireftir sall concur and tak anefald plane part with uthiers for the resisting thairof, the exceptioun alanerlie of befor expremit; and every ane of the saidis lordis reverend fadir and honorabile manis actionis, debaitis, and persutis sal be reput as ane. And for observing, keiping, fulfilling of all and syndre claussis, pouncetis, and articulis aboune expremit ilk ane of the saidis nobill lordis, reverend fadir, and honorabill man binds and oblissis thame, be the faitht and trewtht in thair bodeis, the hallie ewangelistis tuichit, and under the pane of

perjure, inhabilite, infame, to be leill and trew, and tak anefald part with uthiris respective, as said is, aganis all deidlie, the auctoritie alanerlie excepit. In witnessing of the samyne the saidis nobill lo lis, George erle of Caithnes, Johune erle of Suthirland, Robert eleet of Cathnes has subscribit and scillit thair bandis for thair pertis; and becaus the said honorabill man, Donald McKy of Far, culd noegt wrett,[1] he has selit this present with his proper sele, and has requestit ane reverend fadir in God, Robert eleet of Cathnes, subscrive this said band, the said Donalds hand beand at the pen, day, yere, and place aboune writtin, befoir thir witness, ane venerable and honorable man, maister Wilyem Sinclair persoun of Olrik, David Sinclair of Doun.

No. 22. Remission by Queen Mary of Scots to Iye Makky of Farr, for guiding Englishmen to the town of Haddington in April, 1548, and for helping them to fortify and hold it, given at Aberdeen on 5 Oct., 1562:—

Eg. Sec. Sig.

Preceptum remissionis Y Makky de Far, pro ipsius proditoria importatione et conducione vetorum Anglie inimicorum ad burgam de Hadington, in mense Aprilis anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo octavo, et ibidem assistentia et manifesta participatione cum ipsis in fortificatione eiusdem ville, equitatione ambulatione consultatione et adinnatione ipsorum, ad combucendum occidendum et depredandum pauperos liegios regni nostri et idem regnum sub obediencia et subiectione regis Anglie ducendum, Et sic a regina suam regnam coronem reginalem et authoritatem spolatione et abreptione et pro omnibus aliis actionibus etc., proditoria, traditione

1. Writing was not an accomplishment of the nobles and landlords of this period, although the two earls here were able to sign their names without help. On 26th March, 1525, the Earl of Sutherland signed document No. 73 of *Sutherland Book*, Vol III., "Adam Gordon with my hand at the pen, led by maister Thomas Gaderer, Notar Publik," and the same document is signed by "Elizabeth Sutherland, countas of Sutherland, with my hand at the pen," while document 63 of the same Vol. is signed "Johune, erle of Chaithness, wt. my hand on pen."

in propriam personam reginalem duntaxat excepta. Apud Aberdene quinto die mensis Octobris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo secundo, et regni regine vicesimo.

Per signaturam.

No. 23. CONTRACT and AGREEMENT between George, Earl of Huntly, and Iye McKy of Farr, regarding the lands of Strathnaver and others, which Huntly had obtained in superiority from the queen, and which he now disponed to McKy on certain conditions, at Aberdeen 29 July, 1570:—

REAY PAPERS.

At Aberdeen the XXIX day of July, the zeir of God ane thousand fyve hundreth threescoir ten zeirs. It is appointed aggreit contracted and faithfullie oblisit betwix ane nobill and potent lord, George, erle of Huntlie, lord Gordoune and Badzenache, on that ane part, and Y McKy on that other part in maner forme and effect as aftir followis, that is to say, the said nobill erle sall for the causes following and sowmes of money efter specifiet, with all gudelie haist, infeft heretablie be chartour of alienation and seasing in dew and competent forme, contenand the clause of warrandice eftir mentionat, the said Y McKy his airis and assignais to be holden of the said erle his airis and successouris for service warde and relief usit and wount, in all and hail the lands of Broneach, Dilrit, Cattak, and twa penny-land liand in the Ile of Stroma, in all and haill the landis of Galdwall, Ballinhagles with the salmound fisching yairof, Strathie with the salmound fisching yairof, Armadaill, Ffarre with the salmound fisching yairof, Invernaver, Ryndnowye, Skelpik, Carnachie, Ravigill, Syhir, Grubeg, Grumoir, Mowadaill, Torrisdaill with the salmound fisching yairof, Skerrie, Borgybeg, Borgymoir, Tung, Kirkebold, Skrabsitter, Kennessed, Letterlavel, Kinloch, Mellanes, Hoip, Laxfurde with the salmound fisching yairof, Arnabold, Honleian,

Erebold, Straithurradaill, Keandlochbervie, Nahardin, Fenzedalis, Skuriebeg, Skurymoir, Cauldstrom, Ellen-Handa, Ellen-Chorie, Ellengyld, Ellen Rona, Ellen Colme, Langwall, Rosswall, Achynnes, Clebrik, togidder with the forrest of Derymoir, and als the landis of Kynnald, Golspitoure, Gillieallumkill and Edderachelis, the landis of Skaill, Rigabold, Sandwett, Ellenhall, Alscheleorbeg, Alscheleormoir with their pendiculis and pertinentis, and all utheris landis, mylnis, woddes, fischeingis, offices, and commoditeis quhatsumevir, quhilkis pertenit or heritablie mycht have pertenit to the said Y McKyes fader or gudsir, liand within the baronie of Straithnaverne and shirefdome of Innerness. And the said George erle of Huntlie sall warrand the sadis landis haill and in parte to the said Y McKy to be broukit be him his airis and assignais frelie as thair propir heretage in manner abovexpremit, and in speciall sall warrand the samen fre of all titill maid or to be maid be him to quhatsumevir persoun or persounis and at the handis of the said erlis airis and successouris and fra quhatsumeuir thing done or to be done be the said erle or his airis that may be preiudical to the said infeftment; and in cais the saidis landis or ony parte yairof, the samen being named or comprehendit in the infeftment maid to the said erle yairupon, be evictit fra the said Y McKy his airis or assignais and iustlie recoverit be ordor of law at ony tyme for ony cause or right that did not result upon ony deed done or to be done be the said erle or his that micht not be stoppit be thame, then and in that cais the said erle bindis and obliss him his airis and successouris, thei beand lauchfullie requyrit for defence and warrandice yairof as accordis, to refound content and pay to the said Y McKy his airis and assignais the sowme of thre thousand markis usual monei of this realme ressavit be him for making rent of the landis expremit, or then alsmekill profitt zeirlie as the saidis landis that happenis to be evicted gevis and pais presentlie, and that within the space of fourti dais next eftir the saidis landis beis evicted; and the said nobill lord sall warrand, and be the tenor heirof discharges the said Y McKy his airis

and assignais of quhatsumever profittis dewiteis ressavit be him of the saidis landis in ony tyme bygane, sen the daitt of the said erlis infeftment yairof or that sall be intromettit with be him or his airis in ony tyme cuming be vertew of the said infeftment, and to that effect sall deliver to the said Y McKy ane autentick transumpt of the said erles awn securitie and infeftment of the saidis landis, to be usit be the said Y McKy his airis and assignais for thair defence be ressoun thair infeftment dependis yairupoun; and becaus the said Y McKy takis ye saidis landis to be haldin for service ward and relieff of the said erle and his airis, nochtwithstanding that his forbaris bronkit the samen of our sonerane, umquhile kingis of Scotland, immediatelie as free barrones yairof, Thairfoir the said erle for him his airis and successouris, how oft and quhattyme the samin ony wayes sall happin to fall in waird or cum in nonentre, or rycht or tytill yairof to cum in the said erle or his handis, for quhatsumevir caus, sall dispone and gif the saidis landis, and be the tenor heirof gevis and disponis the samen to the said Y McKy his airis and successouris that sall happin to succeed yairto, during the minoritie of the airis that suld enter thairto, for zeirlie payment during the said minorities to the said erle his airis and successouris of the sowme of ten markis usual money of this realme, And the said infeftment to be maid sall contene that clause *per expressum*, and ward the richt and valor of the said Y McKyes mariage tae said erle and that he his airis and successouris sall be ressonable, And becaus it is allegit that the saidis landis of Kynnald, Golspitoure, Gillicallumkill and in cais the samin may be found to be of veritie, the said erle sall not be oblisit to warrand the samin nochtwithstanding thei to be comprehendit in the said infeftment in that cais sall obtene entre yairof to himself and his airis, gif the said erlis infeftment and richt obtenit allis and richtis obtenit be the said Y McKy to be recoverit be the said Y McKy and his airis may bronke the samin as vassallis to the said erle of

Huntlie and his airis. Sicklike, because it is allegit that the landis of Skaill, Rigabold, Sandwett, Ellenhall, Ascheleorbeg, Ascheleormoir to be haldin of the bischop of Caithines, sicklike, gif the samin sal be fundin of veritie the said erle sall nowayes be astricted for warrandice yairof, bot sall be fre of the samin nochtwithstanding that thei ar to be comprehendit in the said infeftment like as they had not bene comprehendit yairin; and alsua becaus it is allegit the landis of Langwell, Rosswall, Achynnes, and Clebrig be haldin of the bischop and kirk of Murray, sicklike, gif the samin beis fundin of veritie the said erle sal be nawayes astricted for warrandice of the samin albeit thei are to be comprehendit in the said infeftment, bot sal be fre thairfra as the samin had not been put nor comprehendit yairin. And in cais it may be fundin be vertew of ony infeftment gift or contract maid thairof to the said erle that he may ony wayes enter thairto, the said erle sall obtaine infeftment to him and his airis of the immediat superior to the effect the said Y McKy and his airis may brouke the saidis landis as vassallis to the said nobill erle. And the said Y McKy sall relief the said erle of all sowmes of money contenit in quhatsumevir contract or promeist be his forbearis for obtening infeftment of the saids landis, and, sicklike, of all feu males and utheris dewties aucht or that may be cravit of the forsaids landis, allegit halden of the forsaids kirkis, alsweill bygane as zeirlie in tyme coming, and alluther thingis that may be obtenit agains the said erle yairfoir, for zeirlie payment of the quhilkis few males and dewities the said erle makkis constitutis and ordains the said Y McKy, his airis and successouris, the said erle and his airis lawchful procuratouris in tyme cuming; and gif be occasion of non-payment or ony uther caus cumand of the said Y McKy or his airis awin deed or defalt the saidis landis or ony part thairof happinnis to be recognoscit, the said erle and his airis sall not be obleist for warrandice thairof, provyding alsua that the said infeftment sall contene *per expressum* that the said Y McKy, his airis and successouris, sall at their entres in and to the saidis landis cum to the personall presence of the said erle and his

airis and mak to thame yare solempnit aith of fidellitie and homage, as vassallis aucht to yair owir lordis and superioris, and sall gif sute and presence zerlie at three courtis in Inverness, and relief the said erle and his airis of all stentis and taxationis that happinnis to be imput upoun the saidis landis be the authoritie of the tyme. And als the said infeftment to contene ane heretabill rycht and power of bailzerie within the forsaidis landis to poniss transgressouris and evil doaris with the escheittis and profittis of the samin as effeiris: and that ane seasing to be tane at the place and town of Farr sall be sufficient for the haill landis contenit in the said infeftment nochtwithstanding that thei ly discontigue and attoure, the said nobil lord obliss him and his airis to deliver to the said Y McKy and his airis ane sufficient power and licence of his immediat superior to annalie the saidis landis nochtwithstanding his L. haldis the samin in waird and relief, and to obtene theme ratificatioun and confirmatioun of the said infeftment to be maid be him to thame to the effect that his L. and thei as vassallis may peciablie brouke the samin for the quhilkis causes, and infeftment to be maid in maner and forme aboue expremit the said Y McKy bindis and obliss him his airis and assignais to refount, content, and pay to the said nobil lord, his airis, executouris, and assignais, the sowme of thre thousand markis usual money of this realme of Scotland at the terms eftir following, viz., the the sowme of ane thousand pundis money at the feist of Martyn nixt following the dait heirof, and the uther thowsand pundis money at the feaste of Mertymes nixt yairefter, to wit, in the zeir of God ane thowsand fyve hundreth threscoir ellewin zeiris in haill and compleit payment of the said sowme; and for mair securitie and payment yairof the said Y McKy is content and consentis that nochtwithstanding the making of this said infeftment and perfyting thairof presentlie, that the samin sall be consignit and remane unusit be him and na seasing to be taken be vertew thairof, inkeiping be William lord Forbes and his airis quhill the compleit payment of the saidis sowmes at the termes forsaid or soner as the saidis sowmes happinnis

to be compleitlie pait, provyding that efter the payment of the samin the not taking of the said seasing sall not be prejudiciall to the said Y McKy anent the profittis of the saidis landis, bot the samin to pertene to him the said money beand pait like as he instantlie had takin seasing yairof, provyding likeways that the said lord Forbes at the ressait of the said evident sall gif sufficient obligatioun to the said erle and Y McKy to deliver the said infeftment onusit to the said erle and his airis in cais of non-payment of the forsaidis sowmes at ony of the terms abovewrittin, or within XX dayes yairefter, and in caiss of compleit payment to deliuer the said infeftment to the said Y McKy or his airis incontinent yairefter to be usit be yame as yair proper evident. And in caiss the said Y McKy sall happin to failzie in payment at ony of the forsaidis twa termes, he nor his airis to have na access to the saidis landis and infeftment be vertew of this present contract; and in caiss the said Y McKy, in laik as God forbid, eftir the payment of the said first terme and befoir the payment of the last he or his airis failzeing in payment of the said last term, thei to have restitution of the money pait be the said Y McKy a foir or the said erle have intres agane to the profittis of the saidis lands, and the samin to be broukit be thame ay and while the said erle or his airis mak payment to thame of the forsaid sowme or to utheris personis havand right thairto, and the samin being pait be the said erle or his airis they to have fre regres in and to the profittis of the forsaids landis, as they had of some tyme befoir the making of thir presentis, and not to be oblisit to ony of the contentis heirof. And becaus it is allegit be Alexander erle of Sutherland that the said Y McKy has intromittit with the landis of Strafleitt and Braechatt, and occupiit the samin during the minoritie of the said erle, the said Y McKy at the desire of the said erle of Huntlie hes bund and oblisit him and be thir presentis bindis and obliss him, his airis, and assignais, to desist and ceiss fra all occupying and intromitting with the saidis landis, and to leif the samin void and red in all tyme cuming at the feist and term of Witsounday nixt to cum, to be usit occupiit and intromettit with at

the plesor of the said erle of Suthirland, provyding always that the said desisting and ceasing be na parte of the satisfactioun for the infeftment of the landis above specifiit. And because the said erle of Sutherland pretends tytil rycht and intres to the forsaidis landis of Skaill, Rigabold, Sandwett, Ellenhall, Alscheleorbeg, Alscheleormoir, or ony uthir landis contenit within this contract allegit pertenand to the said erle, the said erle of Suthirland has chosin nobillmen, to witt, John erle of Athoill, lord Balvany &c., Johnne Bellenden of Auchinmowle, knyeth, justice-clerk, Maister Robert Creichton of Eliot, our soueranes advocat, Sir James Balfour of Pettindreich, knyegt presedent, Alexander Gordoun of Geicht, and Alexander Gordoun of Abirgeldie for his parte, and the said Y McKy hes chosin noblemen, viz., William Lord Forbes, John Grant of Frewchie, Mr. Duncan Forbes of Monymusk, John Caldell of Aslown, Mr. Robert Lumisden of Clova, Mr. Alexander Skene, advocat, for his parte, and the said erle of Huntlie to be owirman to the quhilkes personnes or ony twa of thame; the saidis parties hes submittit and be thir presentis submittis thair haill richt titilles intress that thei had has or any wayes may pretend or have in and to the saidis landis of Skaill, Rigabold, Sandwett, Ellenhall, Alscheorbeg, Alscheormoir, and utheris landis pertening to the said erle, or ony parte thairof older propertie or possessioun, to be decydit be thame and to be adjugit to athir of the saidis parties be thair decret and decissioun, quha sall convene at Elgin or quhair and quhen it sall pleis the said erle of Huntlie, and baith the saidis parties hes faithfullie sworne to abyde at the saidis juges decreit and decisioun and neuir te cum in the contrair thereof; And for observing keiping and fulfilling of all and sundrie the premiss baith the parties ar content and consentis that this present contract be acted and registrate in the bukis of Cownsall, Sheriffis bukis of Inverness and Abirdene, and Commissarii bukis of Abirdene, and to have the strenth of ane act and decreit of the lordis shireffs and commissaries yairof, and thair authorities to be interponit thairto, and executorialles to pass thairupon in forme as effeiris, and

for registrating heirof makis and constitutis descreit men and ilkane of thame conjunctlie and severallie their lauchfull and undoubted procuratouris gevand to thame full powar to compeir befoir the lordis of sessioun, shireffis of Inverness and Abirdene, and commissaries of Abirdene, days and place neidful, and thair for thame and in thair names desire this present contract to be registrat in thair bukis, and thair authoritie to be interponit thairto with executoriallis to pass thairupoun in forme abovewrittin, promessand tham to hald ferme and stebill all that yair saidis procuratouris sall happin to do in the premiss. In witness quhairof baith the said nobill Lord George erle of Huntlie, Y McKy, and Alexander of Suthirland hes subscrivit this present contract with their handis, day, zeir, and place above-writtin, befoir thir witness, Johanne commendater of Arbroith, Johnne commendater of Coldinghame, George lord Seatoun, Adam Gordoun of Auchindown, and Mr. Alexander Skene, advocat, with utheris diversis.

(signed) George Erll of Huntlie.
Alexander Erll of Sutherland.
Y Mcky, wt. my hand.

No. 24. CHARTER by the Earl of Huntly to Y McKy, in consequence of Agreement No. 23, of the lands of Strathnaver and others, 31 July, 1570.[1]

REAY PAPERS.

No. 25. DISCHARGE granted by the Earl of Huntly to Lord Forbes and to Y McKy, on payment of the 3000 merks stipulated in the contract No. 23, dated 23 Feb., 1571:—

1. The original document is so tattered as to make it impossible to attempt a copy, but the preceding agreement No. 23 (which in places is also tattered) and the following Sasine No. 26 should contain all the important facts of the moth-eaten charter.

REAL PAPERS

Be it kend tyll all men be thir presentis, We, George erle of Huntlie, loird Gordonne and Badzenet, &c., for us oure airis and successouris to grant and confessis yat albeit Wm. Loird Forbes, wicht mutual consent of us and Y McKy of Farr, resauit in keiping ane infeftment charter and precept of sesing, maid sealit and subscryvit be us to ye said Y McKy his airis assignais and successouris, Of all and haill ye landis of Strathnaver wicht ye pertinentis lyand witin ye shrefdom of Inverness, to remaine in the saidis lordis handis onusit or sesing taken be the said Y McKy or utheris in his name, qll. we war compleitlie payit be the said Y McKy of the sowme of three thousand markis at ye termis mentionat in the said lordis obligatioune; and failzeing of payment at yat ilk termis of the said sowme, to delyuer to us againe ye forsaid infeftment charter and precept of sesing onusit or sesing takine be wertew of ye saimyn be ye said Y McKy or utheris in his name, and failzeing heirof to pay to us and oure successouris the sowme of fywe thowsand markis, as ye said loirdis obligatioune maid to us yairupoune and registrat in ye ssref. of Abirdeine and consistorie buikis of the samyn, the obligatioune beand of the dayt, At Forbes, ye secound day of August, the zeir of God JMVC threscoir ten zeirs, and beand registrat and act maid yairon ye fourt day of ye samyn moneth and zeir and contenis. And becaus ye said Y McKy hes compleitlie payit to us, be himself and utheris in his name and at his comand, compleitt payment of ye forsaid sowme of three thowsand markis as oure acquitance gewen yairon purportis, and yairfoir grantis and confessis ye said Williame Loird Forbes obligatioune satisfeit and furthfillit, and yairfoir to delyuer to ye said Y McKy ye forsaid infeftment charter and precept of sesing of the forsaid landis of Strathnaver with ye pendicles, for to be usit and sesing takyne be ye said Y McKy or utheris in his name at his plesour as his awine propir evidentis. And be ye tenor of thir presentis remiteis and dischargis the said Williame Loird Forbes obligatioune of ye dayt forsaid, and all actis maid yairon ye effect and strent. yairof, and

grantis and consentis ye samyn be cassit, expirit, and deleuted simpliciter and for euer out of the saidis buiks: and to yat effect, be ye tenur. of thir putis., constitutis and makkis maisteris George Barclay and Patonne, and ilk ane of yem coniunctly and seueralie, oure irrevocable procuratouris in yiss case, for us and in oure name, to consent to ye deleitting and cassaing of the saidis obligatioune and actis maid yairon furth of ye forsaidis buikis, for us and in our name as all thingis to exerce do and caurs to be donne yairanent fferme and and for to get all quhatsumeur oure procuratoris or eny ane of zame conjunctlie and severally[1] . . . . . .

No. 26. SASINE following upon charter No. 25, to Iye McKy, of the lands of Strathnaver, etc., otherwise the barony of Farr, 20 April, 1571:—

REAY PAPERS.

In Dei nomine, amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis pateat evidentur sit notum quod anno incarnationis Dominice millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo primo, mensis vero Aprilis die vicesimo, et regni supremi domini nostri principis, Jacobi Sexti Dei gratia Scotorum regis, anno quarto: In mei notarii publici et testium subscriptorum presentiis personaliter constitutus discretus vir, Johannes Dauidsoun, vicarus de Raa, procurator et eo nomine honorabilis viri, Odonis Makky, de cuius procuratoris mandato mihi notario publico subscripto luculenter constabat, habens et tenens in suis manibus quandam cartam et preceptum sasine in se continen. nobilis et potentis domini Georgii comitis Huntlie, domini Gordoun et Badzenach, baronis baronie de Straithnaver etc., pergamino script. eius subscriptione manuali cum appensione sui proprii sigilli roborat,

1. About a dozen words at the end of the document are undecipherable on account of its moth-eaten condition.

accessit ad personalem presentiam honesti viri Willielmi Johannis Roberti, ballivi in hac parte specialiter constituti, prefatam cartam et preceptum sasine in se sic continen. eidem ballivo presentan. Ipsumque debita cum instantia requiren. quatenus ipse statim et sasinam terrarum in dicto precepto contentarum procuratorio, et in eo nomine ipsius Odonis daret quiquidem ballivus prefatam cartam et preceptum sasinae, ut prefertur ea qua decuit reverentia ad manus recepit et mihi notario publico subscripto easdem perlegendum tradidit quas etiam ad manus recepi, et alta ac intelligibile voce perlegi et valgarizavi, cuius precepti tenor sequitur et est talis. Insuper dilectis nostris Willielmo Johne Robsoun etc., ballivis nostris in hac parte, coniunctim et divisim specialiter constitutis, strictè precipimus et firmiter mandamus quatenus visis presentibus indilate statum sasinam hereditariam, possessionemque actualem realem et corporalem omnium et singularum predictarum terrarum de Broneach, Dilrit, Cattack, et duarum denariatarum terrarum jacen. in insula de Stroma, necnon omnium et singularum terrarum de Galdwall, Ballinhagles cum salmonum piscationibus earundem, Strathie et de salmonum piscatione eiusdem, Skerry, Borgybeg, Borgymoir, Armidaill, Farr et de salmonum piscatione eiusdem, Invernaver, Ryndnowie, Skelpick, Carnachie, Ravigill, Sylir, Growbeg, Growmoir, Mowadaill, Torrisdaill et de salmonum piscatione eiusdem, Toung, Kirkebold, Scrabuster, Kennesed, Lettirlavell, Keandloch, Mellenes, Hoip et de salmonum piscatione eiusdem, Laxfurde et de salmonum piscatione eiusdem, Arnabold, Honleian, Erebold, Straithurradaill, Keandlochbervie, Nabardin, Fenziedailles, Skowriebeg, Skowriemoir, Cauldstrom, insule de Handa, insule de Chorie, insule de Gy[illegible] sule de Rone, insule de Colme, Langwall, Rosewall, Auchynnes, Clebrig et de foresta de Derymoir et pertinentiis, ac etiam omnium et singularum terrarum de Kynnald, Golspitoure, Gillecallumkill et de molendino eiusdem, et Edderachiles, terrarum de Skaill, Rigabold, Sandwatt, insule de Hall, Alcheleoureberg, Alcheleouremoir, et de pendiculis et pertinentiis earundem ut premittitur jacen.; necnon

officii dicti balliatus et donationis dicte warde et nonintroitus dicto Y McKy secundum tenorem presentis nostre carte, tradatis et deliberetis seu alter vestrum tradat et deliberet salvo jure cuilibet ad quod faciendum vobis et vestrum cuilibet conjunctim et divisim, nostram plenarium tenore presentium committimus potestatem sive revocatione. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus manu nostra subscriptis sigillum nostrum proprium est appensum apud Abirdonen. ultimo die mensis Julii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo, coram hiis testibus: Johanne commentario de Abirbrothock, Johanne comentario de Coldinghame, Alexander apparente de Elphingstoun, Magistro Roberto Gordoune, cancellario Morrauien. germano nostro, Alexandro Drummond de Medop, et Magistro Alexandro Skene advocato, cum diversis aliis, et sic subscribitur "George erle of Huntlie." Post cuiusquidem precepti perlecturam publicationem et vulgarizationem, prefatus Willelmus ballivus qui supra attendens eiusmodo requissitionem fore justam et rationi consonan. volens officium sui ballivatus in hac parte exercere, accessit tanquam filius obediente ad messuagium et mansionem de Farr, cui omnes et singuli terre cum ceteris, earundem annexis et pertinentiis, molendinis, piscariis, insulis, silvis, et forestis, cum officio ballivatus eorundem in dicto precepto contentis sunt unito et annexe, Et ibidem statum sasinam hereditariam possessionemque actualem realem et corporalem omnium et singularum terrarum in dicto precepto contentarum, cum molendinis, multuris eorundem, piscariis salmonum, silvis, forestis, et insulis cum eorundem annexis et pertinentiis una cum officio ballivatus antedict. secundem tenorem prefati precepti sasine prefato Johanne Dauidsoun, procuratorie eo nomine prefati Odonis McKy, per terre et lapidis fundi ly hesp et stapill messuagii seu mansionis eorundem traditionem, ut moris est, tradidit et deliberavit salvo jure cuiuslibet ipsumque Johannem, procuratorem et eo nomine Odonis McKy, in easdem induxit et investivit ac in pace dimisit nemine opponent aut contradicente. Super quibus omnibus et singulis dictus Johannes Davidsoun,

procurator et eo nomine dicti Odonis McKy, a me notario publico subscripto sibi fieri petitt instrumentum, et instrumenta acta erant hec super solo dictarum terrarum de Far et principalae domus et messuagii earundem respective, horam circiter secundam post meridiem, sub anno, die, mense, et regno quibus supra, presentibus ibidem Johannem Tullidas burgen. de Abirdene, Thoma Cusnii burgen. eiusdem, Roderico McWilliam Makryric, Nigello Mclean MakWilliam, servis dicti Odonis, Johanne Stewart, et Paulo Factoure ibidem, cum diversis aliis testibus ad premissa vocatis et requisitis.

Et ego vero Magister Thomas Brody, artium magister Sancti Andree diocesis apostolica authoritate notarius publicus etc. etc.

No. 27. CHARTER of CONFIRMATION by King James VI. to Alexander Makghie of Balmagie, of specified lands now created into the free barony of Balmagie, to be held of the Crown hereditarily by him and his heirs male, whom failing by James his brother and heirs male, 31 Oct., 1587:—

Reg. Mag. Sig. Rex confirmavit Alexandro Makghie—5 Marcatae terrarum de Nethir Camdudzell vulgo lie manis de Balmaghie, 2½ marcatae de Ovir Camdudzell, 2½ marcatae de Barneborde, 2½ marcatae de Glentew cum molendino multuris etc., 2½ marcatae de Drumkane, 16 solidat de Barend, 16 solidat de Meikill Creochis, 2½ marcatae de Cainnyk, 2½ marcatae de Tarmollen, 2½ marcatae de Grobdaill, 2½ marcatae de Arie, 16 solidat de Slogarie, 2½ marcatae de Ovir de Nethir Crais, 13½ marcatae de Toris de Keltoun, cum castris etc. in parochis de Balmagie et Keltoun, senes. Kirkudbrycht—quas per servitium warde tentas, idem Alexander resignavit; et quas rex, pro bono servito dicti Alexandri, qui magnas summas thesaurio pro hoc infeofamento persolvit, incorporavit in liberam baroniam de Balmagie,

ac voluit quod maneries de Balmagie esset principale messuagium ejusdem—Tenend. dicto Alexandro et heredibus masculis ejus de corpore legitime procreatis, quibus deficientibus Jacobo Makghie ejus fratri germano et heredibus &c., quibus deficientibus legit. propinquioribus heredibus mas. dicti Alexandri, cognomen et arma de Makghie gerentibus quibuscunque. Apud Halyrudhous 31 Oct., 1587.

No. 28. Excerpt CHARTER of CONFIRMATION by King James VI. to Hugh McKy Forbes of Far and Donald McKy Forbes his eldest son, whom failing to John McKy Forbes his second son or others therein mentioned, of the lands of Dilret, etc., in Caithness, of the lands within the barony of Strathnaver, and of the lands of Golspie-tower, etc., within the lordship of Sutherland, dated at Edinburgh 26 May, 1608:—

REG. MAG. SIG. Jacobus Dei gratia &c. Sciatis nos quandam cartam factam datam et concessam per predilectum nostrum consanguineum Joannem Sutherlandie, comitem, baronem baronie de Far dominum superiorem terrarum aliorumque subscript. dilecto nostro Hugoni McKy Forbes de Far in vitali reditu pro omnibus sue vite diebus, ac Donaldo McKy Forbes suo filio seniori et heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitime procreandis, quibus deficientibus Joanni McKy Forbes filio secundo genito dicti Hugonis McKy Forbes et heredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreandis, quibus deficientibus heredibus masculis inter dictum Hugonem McKy Forbes et Jeannem Gordoun suam sponsam procreatis vel procreandis, quibus etiam deficientibus heredibus masculis dicti Hugonis McKy Forbes de corpore suo legitime procreandis, quibus omnibus deficientibus Willielmo McKy Forbes fratri germano dicti Hugonis McKy Forbes et heredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis seu

procreandis, quibus etiam deficientibus Donaldo McKy Forbes de Skowrie et heredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis seu procreandis, quibus omnibus deficientibus legitimis et propinquioribus heredibus masculis dicti Hugonis McKy Forbes de Far, cognomen et arma de McKy Forbes gerentibus, quibuscunque omnibus et singulis terris, molendinis, piscariis, et sylvis infrascriptis, viz., de omnibus et singulis terris de Broncacht, Dilret, Cattak, et duabus denariatis terrarum jacen. in insula de Stroma, infra diocesim Cathanem. et vicecomitatum de Inverness, necnon de omnibus et singulis terris de Galdwall et Ballinhagles cum salmonum piscationibus earundem, Strathy salmonum piscatione ejusdem, Armidall et Farr cum salmonum piscationibus earundem, Invernaver, Rindnovie, Skelpick, Carnachie, Ravigill, Schir, Grubeg, Grumore, Mowadaill, Torrisdaill cum salmonum piscatione ejusdem, Borgibeg, Borgimoir, Skerry, Tung, Kirkwold, Scrabuster, Kennesede, Letterlavell, Keandlocht, Mellandis, Hoip cum salmonum piscatione eiusdem, Arnabold, Humbleiane, Erebold, Straithurradaill, Keandlochtberve, Naharden, Fenzedallie, Laxfurde cum salmonum piscatione ejusdem, Skurrebeg, Skurremoir, Cauldstrome, Edderdaclies, insulis de Handa et Chorie, insula de Gyld, insula de Rone, insula de Cahne, terris de Langwall, Rosswall, Auchinnes, Clebrig cum foresta de Derrymoir, Skaill, Rigabold, Sandwatt, insula de Hall, Alscheleourebeg, Alscheleouremoir cum pertinentiis, jacen. in diocesi Cathanie infra baroniam de Strathnavern et vicecomitatum de Inverness, Ac etiam de terris de Kynnald, Golspitoure, Gilliecallumkill cum molendino ejusdem et aliis pendiculis, commoditatibus &c., jacen. in dominio de Sutherland infra diocesim et vicecomitatum predict. &c. [The confirmed charter, dated 6 June, 1606, is at this point inserted at length.] Datum apud Edinburgum 26 May, 1608.

No. 29. Remission to Donald McKy, fiar of Far, and many

others for the slaughter of John Sinclair of Stirkoke and Arthur Smyth, and for wounding James Sinclair brother of Dun, dated at Roystoun 13 Jan., 1614:—

REG. MAG. SIG. Rex dedit literas remissionis Donaldo McKy feodatario de Far, Joanni Gordoun apparenti de Golspytour, Joanni Gordoun filio naturali Joannis Gordoun de Bakeis, Adamo Gordoun in Dole, Joanni Baillie, Willielmo McEan McEane, Murtheo Neil Williamsoun, Joanni William Alastir Williamsoun, Allaster ejus fratri, Willielmo Johne Allester Williamsoun, Nigello McAlaster Johne Neilsone, Murtheo Wm. Murthowson, Nigello ejus fratri, Joanni Agnus Reidsone, Joanni Donald Rorie Reidsone, Angusio Henrie Wm. Alastersone, Rorie Reid Wm. Alastersone, Donaldo Reid McEane McInnes, Joanni Ross juniori, Joanni Donald Johne Wm. sone, Angusio Henrie Wm. Henrysone, Wilielmo Donald Griersone, Angusio McRorie McEane McFindlay, Willielmo Ouer, Joanni McWm. McAndrew, Donald McInnes McInnes, Wm. Johnne Wm. Rorison, Angusio John Hutcheonsoun, Murtheo McAllastir McEan McNeill, Nigello McMurthow McWilliam, Clericho McEan McPhail, Murtheo Naverach, Donaldo McCruimien lie pyper, Joanni McRorie lie pyper, Wm. McDonnachie McHoutcheoun, Donaldo Dow Henrik, Wm. Wm. Thomas-essousone in Carnoichie, Donaldo Myllar, Angusio Donald Murthowsone, Thormet ejus fratri, Nigello Nachinarre, Donald Rob Gibbersone, Joanni McEane McIntagartie, et Joanni Buy, pro eorum vita duraturas—pro arte parte interfectionis[1] Joannis Synclair de Stirkake et Arthuri Smyth, necnon pro mutilatione Jacobi Synclair, fratris Synclair de Dyn, mense Maio, 1612.

No. 30. TACK by the Bishop of Caithness to Donald McKy Forbes, fiar of Strathnaver, of the teind vicarage of the barony and

1. The slaughter here referred to took place at Thurso, when Arthur Smyth, the suspected counterfeit coiner, was being apprehended by warrant of the authorities *(Earld. of Suthr.)*

parish of Durness during the lifetime of the said Donald and for two 19 years after his death, dated 28 May, 1615:—

Reay Papers

Be it kend till all men be thir pnts., We Alexander be the mercie of God bischope of Cathnes, with advyse and speciall consent of ye deane and chapter of ye said bischoprick chaptorlie convenit, The utilitie and profit of ye rent of or. said bischoprik foursein and maturlie considdered, And specialie now efter ye desolutiunn of benefices ecclesiasticall conforme to the particular actis and statutus made yairanent, and in augmentatiunn of the rentall of ye said bischoprik and rent yrof efter sa lang desolutiunn and lait restitutiony of the samen be way of new erectionn, and for uyeris causs and considerationnes moveing us, And specialie for certane soumes of mony payit and delyuerit to us be ye richt honorabill Donald McKy Forbes fear of Stranaverne at ye making of thir pnts., quthairof we hauld us weill appleisst and discharges ye said Donald and all uyers quthome it effeirs of the samen for now and ever. Thairfore we with advyse and consent foresaid to have set and in tak and assedatioun for maill lettis, lykeas be the tenor heirof we wt. consent and aysent as said is setis and in tak and assedatioun for maill lettis to the said Donald McKy Forbes, his airis, assignies, subtenentis, and donators, ane or mae quthsomeuer, All and haill the teind vicarags great and small quthsumeur of the haill barronie and parochine of Ardowrenes, haill tounes and lands within the samen quthatsumeur, pendicles and pertinds. yrof, perteining heretablie to Johnne erle of Sutherland and to the said Donald McKy, and within the dyocie of Cathnes and srefdom of Inverness, to be tenndit, collectit, gadderit, intromettit with, and disponit uponn be the said Donald and his forsaids, and that for all the dayes, zeirs, and termes of the lyftyme of the said Donald McKy Forbes, and yrefter for all ye dayes, zeirs, and termes of nynteine zeirs taks immediately efter the deceis of the said Donald quthaneur it sall happin. Quthilks ninteine zeirs forsaids being compleitlie furthrun for all ye deyis, zeirs, and termes, of uther

nyntin zeirs taks immediatlie yrefter following, makane in all ane lyfrent and tua nyntein zeirs taks to ye said Donald, his airis, assignis, subtenents, and donators forsaids. The said Donald McKy Forbes and his foursaids entrie to this pnts. tak and assedatioun to be and begin the day and dait of thir pnts., in this instant zier of God ane thowsand sex hundreths and thretene zeirs, and thairefter to indure in the peaceabill collecting, gaddering, uptaking, resaueing, seting, and disponing in the said teind wicarage great and small of the lands and barronie forsaids by and qll. the forsaids lyvrent and twa nynteine zeirs tak be compleitlie furthrun, payand thairfor zeirlie the said Donald McKy Forbes and his forsaids to us and or. successors, bischopis of the said bischoprick of Cathnes, or. factoris and chalm. lanes in or. names haueand or. pouer and demissionn, for all and haill the teind wicarage great and small of the saids lands and barronie, haill pairtis and pertinents of the samen, the soume of fourtie markis vsual Scotis mois zeirlie, betwixt Qlk is the teind siluer that was pyit abefor for the wicarage of the saids haill lands zeirlie, And the soume of sex schillings viijd Scotis money in augmentation of or. rentall mair nor was the sumes pyit abefor, and that allanerlie for all uther exactions, demand, or deweties quhatsumeuir that in onywayis may be askit or craveit fra the said Donald McKy Forbes and his forsaids for the said teind wicarage great and small of the lands supramentionnat. And we, forsuthe, for us and or. successors faithfullie binds and obliges us and thame with advyse and consent forsaid to warrand thir pnts. set and assedationn of the wicarage of the saids lands great and small to the said Donald McKy Forbes and his forsaids, during all the dayis and termes of his lyftyme and for the space of twa nyntein zeirs yreft. following, for zeirlie pyment as is abovewreten guid laull. and sufficient, contrar all deidlie, *salvo jure cuislibet*, and that we nayer have done nor sall do onything that may be hurtfull or prejudiciall herto; And gif thir pnts. be nocht sufficient to ye effect abovewritin, oblises us and or. forsaids to renew and reforme the samen to the said Donald and his forsaids,

gif we sall be desyrit yrto, to keipand the substantiall heids abovewretin in maist ampill forme that can be divisit. And for better suerts heirof we are content and consents that thir pnts. be regrat. in the buikes of Counsill, and the lords decreit thr'of intr' ponit thrto with lres. and executoriallis to pas vpoun ane single charge of fifteen dayis allanerlie, and to the effect constitutes oure proris., coniunctlie and seueralie, to consent to the regratioun heirof *in uberiori forma constitutionis promitten. de rato.* In Witness qr'of to thir pnt. letter of lyfrent and twa nyntein zeiris tak, wretin be Johnne Donaldsoun, notar publict, we haue subscryvit the samen wit or. proper seill, with ye comoun seill of or. said bischoprik ar heirto appendit in tokin of the chaptoris consent. AT ABIRDENE the twentie twa daye of May, anno JAIVIC and fyftene zeirs, Befor thir witness, Arthor lord Forbes, Jon. Forbes of Gask, Wm. Dalgarns of yt ilk, Thomas Bisset, sruitor. to the said lord; Mr. Andrew Clerk, not. publict, Jon. Donaldsone, forsaid writr heirof.

Jo. Donaldsone, not. public, writer heirof, witnes.
Thomas Bisset, witnes.
Mr. An. Sin-Clark, witnes.
Wm. Dalgarns, witnes.
Arthur L. Forbes, witnes.
Johne Forbes, witnes.
Walter Anderson, psone of Kildona'd.

A. Forbes, bischopp of Cathnes.
M. J. Gray, deane of Cathnes.
Mr. Rich. Merchstone, archdean, consentis.
Mr. William Smyth, person of Dunet, consentis.
A. Ogstoune, persone of Cannesby, consentis.

No. 31. CHARTER NOVODAMUS by King James VI. to Donald M'Cay of Arnegill and to his son Evir hereditarily, of the office of crowner of North-Kintyre and of the four merk lands of Arnigill and Ugadail pertaining thereto, as these were given *novodamus* by King

James V. to Donald's grandfather, Evir M'Ky-moir de Arnigill, which charter was burnt when Kintyre was devastated by the Macleans—charter dated 28 Dec., 1615:—

REG. MAG. SIG. Rex—cum consensu &c.—concessit et de novo dedit Donaldo M'Cay de Arnegill, in vitali redditu, et post ejus decessum Euero lie Ewir M'Cay ejus filio legit. primogenito et heredi apparenti, et ejus heredibus, hereditarie—officium coronatoris insule et limitum de North Kintyre, et 4 mercat. terrarum de Arnegill et Vughedall in Mid Kintyre ad dictum officium spectantes, vic. de Tarbert:—que rex Jac. V. de novo dederat quondam Ewir M'Kay-moir de Arnegill, avo dicti Donaldi (vid. *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, A.D. 1513-1546, cartam[1] 2756), prout in extractu de registro per D. Alex. Hay de Quhitburgh, militem, clericum rotulorum, registri ac concilii subscripto contentum est; et quorum carte combuste et deperdite fuerant occasione multorum bellorum, homicidorum, combustionum et depredationum lie hairschipis inter pravissima cognomina et gentes de et M'Claine invicem perpetratarum, unde integre terre de Kyntyre sepenumero vastate exsiterant,—et que regni deveerant virtute acti parliamenti 19 Dec., 1597, ob non productionem cartarum.

REAY INVENTORY. No. 32. Inventory of CHARTER by William MacAllan in Toung to Sir Donald McKy of Strathnaver, of the Little Islands of Strathnaver, viz., Yell-Ellan, Jura, Calva, Chrona, etc.—"pro certis quibusdam pecuniarum summis, aliisque gratitudinibus et benemeritis mihi etc.," dated[2] at Mowdell, 6 Oct., 1624.

No. 33. Substance of CHARTER of CONFIRMATION under the

1. The charter here referred to we give in document No. 16 of our Appendix.

2. The original charter was deposited by the 7th Lord Reay in the Register House, Edinburgh, about the middle of March, 1852. Sasine on this charter was taken 4 Nov., and registered 12 Nov., 1624.

Reg. Mag. Sig. Great Seal by King Charles I. to Sir Donald McKy of Strathnaver and his heirs male:—Of all and hail the Town and lands of Sandside, Reay, Davochow, Borlum, Miltown, Isauld, Acharasker, Achamurlane, Shurarie, with the mills, fishings, woods, forests, etc., all lying within the barony of Dunbeath and sheriffdom of Inverness, on the resignation of Alexander, Master of Forbes, with consent of Lady Ann, Mistress of Forbes, and others therein mentioned, and containing a clause erecting the whole into a burgh of barony called Reay, with a seaport at Sandside, and with power to hold a weekly market and four fairs annually, dated 19 Feb., 1628.

No. 34. Patent of Nobility granted by King Charles I. to Sir Donald McKy of Farr, whereby the said Sir Donald, for his many valuable services rendered to the Danish king during the German war, was created Lord Reay in the baronage of Scotland, the title to descend to his heirs male bearing the name and arms of McKy, dated 20 June, 1628:—

Reay Papers. Carolus Dei gratia Magne Brittanie Francie et Hybernie rex, fideique defensor, omnibus probis hominibus suis ad quos presentes litere pervenirent Salutem. Sciatis quia nos considerantes plurima bona et grata servitia per fidelem et dilectum nostrum Dominum Donaldum McKy de Farr, militem, avunculo nostro Danie regi in bello Germanico prestita, ubi non vitam suam et statum periclitatus est, sed quam plurimos generosos et alios infra illius regni partes ubi natus est ad hujusmodi periculum excitavit, consideratio quorum juncta cum nostra scientia ipsius probe indolis et penes alia sufficientiae, Ac quo melius omnes hujusmodi nostros dilectos subditos quorum bene meritum prosapia fortune et obseqium, erga nostrum servitium gratiosum nostrum favorem et respectum merentur ad honoratas virtutum vias incitemus tesseram aliquam nostre regie

benevolentie in dictum dominum Donaldum conferre juste meretur, Igitur nos e regia nostra potestate et authoritate regali fecimus, creavimus, et constituimus, tenoreque presentium facimus, creamus, et constituimus prefatum Dominum Donaldum M'Ky, DOMINUM BARONEM DE REA, infra regnum nostrum Scotie, dan. et conceden. sibi et heredibus suis masculis cognomen et insignia de M'Ky gerentibus, titulum honorarem gradum et dignitatem domini baronis parliamenti infra dictum regnum, necnon investivimus tenoreque presentium investimus prefatum Dominum Donaldum heredesque suos masculos predict. in prefato titulo et dignitate omni tempore futuro DOMINOS de REA nuncupandos et indignandos fore, Tenendum et habendum prefatum titulum honorem gradum et dignitatem cum suffragio in parliamento et cum omnibus aliis prerogativis pre-eminentiis dignitatibus et honoribus quibuscunque ad predictam dignitatem domini pertinen. prenominato Domino Donaldo heredibusque suis masculis predictis, in omnibus nostris et successorum nostrorum parliamentis publicisque statum dicti regni nostri comitiis. Ac etiam ut potestate loco ac jure suffragium inibi dandi cum omnibus prerogativis et dignitatibus fruatur in omnibus per omnia sicuti aliquis dominus baro temporibus retroactis gaudebat et fruebatur vel pro presenti infra idem regnum nostrum fruitur et gaudet, et ut prefatus Dominus Donaldus heredesque sui masculi predicti et eorum unusquisque successive omni tempore futuro Domini BARONES de REA indigitentur et nominentur, Et ut omni dignitate et respectu dominis baronibus dicti regni nostri competen. honorentur mandan. etiam Leoni nostro regi armorum et fratribus suis fecialibus ut additionem signorum et insignium presentibus dicti Domini Donaldi armis tradant et prescribant prout in talibus casibus usitatem et consuetum est. In cujus rei testimonium presentibus magnum sigillum nostrum apponi precipimus. Apud regiam nostram de Quhithall vigesimo die mensis Junii, A.D. millesimo sexcentesimo vigesimo octavo, et regni nostri quarto.

Per signaturam.

No. 35. Extract from LETTER of Donald, 1st Lord Reay, to Alex. Gordon—complaining of alleged plots by Sir Robert Gordon against his Lordship. Undated, but probably c. 1637.[1]

"Very honourable and loving uncle, Yours I received from Torris the 12th . . . . . As for men to your son I had once some 30 in roll that we might want, and would do my company good, and I thought to have sent my son Hew with them. After meeting with my friends, they all in one voice absolutely have refused to suffer any men to go out of this country, till they see the events of these plots hatched by your brother, Sir Robert, for all our ruins, as is alleged; and I am sorry there is too much evidence thereof. I am but one, and let never the earth bear me, but I would do for your son as for my own; but I pray you uncle, excuse me that I must now follow part of the advise of them that thinks to die for my defence, and in defence of their father's lands. I am sorry that I know not in whom to trust, my own uncle betraying me. The world would not make me believe it if I had not seen his hand. The particulars were this: I was advertised that the letters I sent to the Council and to some councillors, being my friends, part were upholden and part written over, and my hand counterfeit, and closed with my own seal which I sent with William Innes, yet I did not accuse Sir Robert thereof at Dornoch, because I sent the letters with William I[illegible]s, and not with him; yit in Toung I caused Sir John Gordon and Robert Munro of Assint to accuse Sansyd. He first freed Sir Robert, but in the end confessed Sir Robert made him do it, and produced a draught or copie of a letter written all by Sir Robert's hands, which letter Sir Robert, as he alleged, made him write over and counterfeit my name to it. Then they closit up and delevered it to the Council as from

1. Sir Wm. Fraser surmised that this letter was written c. 1630, but that date is impossible. In 1630 Lord Reay was fighting in Germany, and there is nothing in the *P. C. Reg.* before or immediately after that date to give countenance to his Lordship's complaint. Gordon of Sallagh, however, relates that his Lordship got into trouble before the Council in 1637 with reference to Mrs. Harrison, and that he was represented by Innes of Sandside, as stated here.

Besides in 1630, his 3rd son Hugh was only 14 years of age and unfit to go abroad as a soldier, whereas in 1637 he was of suitable age.

me—a letter that confessed more than Maistress Herison herself alleged. What more he confessed then Sir John will show you, and time will try and show the rest. O miserable world! where there is no faith, trust nor credit; to take a man his means, and then betray him! The Lord forgive them. What could the Council do but as they did, having my letter as their warrand. I know you nor no honest heart will never believe there is so much falsehood in man, &c."

No. 36. Extract from the FAREWELL LETTER of ADVICE by Sir Robert Gordon to his nephew the Earl of Sutherland. Circa 1627[1]:—

SUTHR. BK., VOL. III.

Sir Robert Gordon proceeds:—"If you shall happen to l . or purchase any lands in Strathnaver, use kindly the natives you find upon the land, that thereby you may purchase their love and alienate their minds fron Mackay. And be not too hardhanded to them at first, for by a little frienes and liberality you may gain them, which is the nature of all highlanders. Yet by progress of time, I wish you to send some of your own people to dwell amongst them. . . .

"Have ever some trusty secret friend both in Caithness and Strathnaver whom you shall entertain as your secret pensioner, that he may still advertise you of all things either spoken or devised against you or yours. . . .

"Make all diligence to settle and establish your sheriffship of Sutherland and Strathnaver, if I do it not to your hand, and cause distinguish the same from the sheriffship of Inverness, making your

1. Sir Wm. Fraser dated this paper as c. 1620, but we con[illegible] le; c. 1627 more likely. It was after Charles I had ascended the throne in 1625 that the su[illegible] of the hereditary sheriffship of Sutherland became even probable, and it was not carried [illegible] ution until 1631. As this paper strongly points to such a contingency, it must have been [illegible] sometime after the accession of King Charles I., and before 1628 when Mackay was created Lord Reay.

own accounts to the exchequer. And if at any time your prince be earnest to have your sheriffship, let him have it for payment, providing that his majesty will be pleased to settle your regality; else not. For seeing all Sutherland (for the most part) doth hold of you and your regality, you need not care much for the sheriffship. But di one not to his majesty the sheriffship of Strathnaver w thout Macky his consent, seeing you are bound to warrand the same unto him. . . .

'Keep a steadfast and perpetual amity with the house of Meky. Use Macky rather as your vassal than as your companion; and because they are usually proud and arrogant, let them know that you are their superior. Let Meky his pincell [banner] never be displayed where yours is, whether you be personally present or some other having your place, let him have his pincell folded up when yours is displayed. Suffer not any clan or family in Sutherland to be so bold as to make particular conventions and meetings of their own for any cause whatsoever without your special attollerance and command.

"There be two chief things that are likely to breed discord betwixt you and Meky which you shall endeavour in all haste to remedy, if it be not done before your majority. The one is your marches; the other is the warrandice of Strathnaver, whereunto your father did tie himself in the infeftment granted by him to Macky the year JMVIC six years. I doubt not but Meky by virtue of this warrandice will press to deprive you if he can of the superiority of Strathnaver, that he may hold of the king; which to remedy you shall urge the minute of Achindore, passed betwixt your father (Earl John) and Meky the year of God JMVIC therteen years. It will compell Macky to renounce the warrandice if he refuse to do it willingly; which if he do not, then do you remove him from the lands of Durness, wherof he has no right as yet, but a little ticket of your father's subscribed by him upon his death-bed, which will not avail much by law—I suspect that the Lord Forbes lost this minute. Press to keep Macky himself rather than his countrymen; if you have

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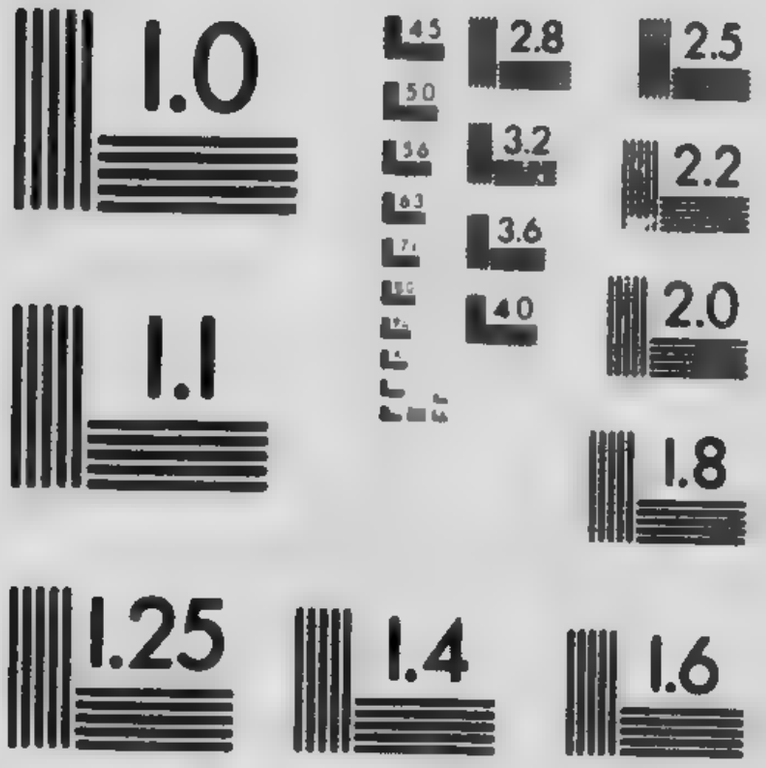

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Macky you shall have them; if you want him, they can little profit you. The contrary hereof you shall observe with Caithness. If you may purchase the love of the inhabitants of that country, you shall care the less for the earl's friendship or favour. . . .

"There is one other matter which may breed a jar betwixt you and Macky, depending of the forename, warrandice, which is this:—Houcheon Macky of Farr had a daughter by his first wife, the Earl of Caithness his daughter. Houcheon married also Jane Gordon, daughter of Alexander Earl of Sutherland by whom he had Sir Donald Macky. Houcheon having served himself heir to his father Iy Macky, by a precept of *clare constat* given him by Alexander Earl of Sutherland to that effect, he resigned Strathnaver unto his superior Earl Alexander his hands, for anew infeftment to himself and to his son, Sir Donald. This new infeftment was given by Earl Alexander without warrandice. Your father Earl John renews this infeftment to Houcheon Macky and to his son Sir Donald, with warrandice, wherethrow proceeds all this controversy. The question is, Whether Houcheon Macky was infeft in the lands of Strathnaver before he did renounce the same in his superior's hands. If he was infeft or served heir to his predecessores (as I am assured he was) you are safe enough; and this you may know by Henry Fermer his protocool, which is among your father's writs. If Houcheon Macky was not infeft, or that his seasing cannot be found, then you are in danger thus:—

"The lawful heirs of Iy Macky (father to Houcheon) may serve themselves heirs unto the said Iy Macky whereby they may evict the lands of Strathnaver from the heirs of Sir Donald, who may return back upon you for warrandice; and Sir Donald his heirs agreeing with the heirs of Iy Macky, may so cause you renounce the superiority of these lands, for to be red of the warrandice. I can percieve no remedy to prevent this, but either to defend yourself with the minute of Achindore (if it can be found) against the heirs of Sir Donald, or else to reduce Sir Donald his last infeftment granted by your father;

which may be reduced, because (as I think) his seasing and his infeftment do not agree. For his seasing is united and taken in one place, which union is not in the infeftment. If this cannot help you, then you must agree for some composition of money with the heirs of Iy Macky if they do appear; which I wish you rather to do than to renounce the superiority of Strathnaver. The heir of Iy Macky is either Christian Macky, daughter to the said Houcheon by the Earl of Caithness his daughter, which Christian died without children; or else the heirs of Angus Macky, the grandfather (or the great-grandfather) of the said Iy Macky, who can hardly be found out; and tho' they were found, their claim is now lost by prescription I hope. Sir Donald Macky hath neither served nor doth not intend to serve himself heir to his father or grandfather.

"There is one other remedy which you may use to free yourself from Macky his warrandice, and this is it. Bishop Reid of Orkney obtained a gift of Strathnaver before the Earl of Huntly by reason of Donald Macky his bastardy, which gift of Huntly is the ground of Iy Macky his claim. This former right was bought by your father from Bishop Reid's heirs, and the gift was taken in my name. Keep this right quiet until you do see yourself straited by the other, and then defend yourself thereby as you can. If there be any defect in Bishop Reid his right by law, press to amend it before you have to do therewith. But I hope (God willing) to end these controversies with Macky if I can possibly. . .

"Use your diligence to take away the reliquies of the Irish barbarity which as yet remains in your country, to wit, the Irish language, and the habit. Purge your country piece and piece from that uncivil kind of clothes, such as plaids, mantles, truses, and blew bonnets. Make severe acts against those that shall wear them, etc., etc."

No. 5. A Deed by which Sir Hector Munro of Fowlis bestows

upon his spouse Marie McKy, youngest sister of Donald, 1st Lord Reay, a life-rent interest in certain specified lands, dated 20 Sep. and 8 Dec., 1635:—

REAY PAPERS.

At Newmoir the tuenti day of September, and at Durness ye eight day of December, the zeir of God MVIC threitie five zeirs, it is contracted appoyntit finallie endid and agreed betwixt the partis following, to wit, ane noble Lord, Donald Lord Reay, taking on and upon him and his airis the full burding of Dame Marie McKy, his lawful sister and spouse to Colonell Sir Hector Munro of Fowlis, Knyt. baronet, to ye effect underwrittin, in ye ane pairt, And ye said Colonell Sir Hector Monro with consent of Robert Monro, Obsdaill, appairent air maill and of tailzie to ye said colonell, and ye said Robert for himself, on ye uther pairt, in maner and effect as efter specified. That is to say, forasmeikle as there was ane contract of marriage of ye dait at Tung the tuentie nynt day of Decembre, MVIC auchtene zeirs, maid endit and subscryvit betwix ye said noble Lord, yr'in stylit Sir Donald McKy of Strathnaver, Knyt, for himself and taking the burding on and upon him of ye said Dame Marie McKy his youngest sister with her awin consent on ye ane pairt, And the said Colonell Sir Hector Monro of Fowlis, yairin stylit Hector Monro of Alynes, on ye uther pairt, Be vertew yr'of ye marriage then contracted and yr'efter solemnizat betwix ye said Colonell Sir Hector and his said spouse, the said colonell infeft ye said Dame Marie McKy, his said spouse, in lyfrent in all and sundrie ye lands of Meikle and Littlie Alynes, with ye mylne yr'of, miln croft, multures, and sequelles of ye same, with ye haill pairtis, pendicles, and pertinents of ye said lands, lyand within ye regalitie of Spynie earldom of and shrefdom of Inve s, as ye said contract of ye dait forsaid and infeftments following upon purports. Since ye making of ye qlk contract of marriage and infeftments following yr'upon, the said Colonell Sir Hector Monro sold and disponit the foresaid lands of Alynes Meikle and Little, with ye miln yr'of and

yr. pertinents, to ye qlk disposition the said Dame Marie McKy gave her consent and renuncit hir lyfrent ryt in ye favor of ye person qr' into the said lands and miln were disponit, in recompence and satisfactione of ye qlk renunciatione unqll. Colonell Robert Monro of Foullis and ye said Colonell Sir Hector Monro his brother, be ye band subscryvit with yr. hand, oblest them conjunctlie and severally, yr. airs, exers., successors, and assignivis, to content and pay to ye said Dame Marie McKy the sonne of ane thousand merks usuall Scottis money zeirlie, during her lyfetyme efter ye said Colonell Sir Hector his decise, in case at ye plesor of God she outlive him, in maner and forme mentionat in ye band maid yr'on as ye same more fullie proportis. And now seeing at ye plesor of God the said Colonell Sir Hector Monro succedis to his said unqll. brother in ye haill lands leiving and baronie of Foulis, sua that resone wold he sould provyt his said spouse to ane reasonabill and competent leiving effering to her estate, ranke and place; Therfor for ye love and favor the said Colonell Sir Hector putlie. caries towards the said Dame Marie McKy his said spouse, and in satisfactione and contenting of all benefite she may claim or crave of her said spouse, his airis, and successors, alsweil be vertew of ye said contract of mairage and infeftment of ye said lands of Alynes following yr'on with ye band givin to her be ye said unqll. Colonell Robert Monro and be ye said Colonell Sir Hector her spouse, as of all terce of qt'sumever the said Col. Hector his lands, baronies, fyshings, and heretages qr'in he sall happin to decis cast, vest, and seasit, qlk in law may befall to her be or threw her husband's decis in case she sall happin to outlive him. The said Col. Sir Hector be thir presents binds and obleiss him his airis maill and successors, with all convenient diligence, to purchase procure and obtein themselves dewlie and lawfullie infeft and seast in all and haill ye lands and baronies of Foulis with ye pertinents yr'of qt'sumever, and to secure ye teind sheves of ye same . The said Col. Sir Hector heirby obleys him and his frinds immediately yr'efter to dewlie and lawfullie infeft and sease be charter and sesing,

titulo in dew and competent forme, the forsaid Dame Marie McKy in lyfrent for all the dayes of her lyftyme in all and haill the lands of Carbystell and Teaninver, with ye coble fyshing of Teaninver , lyand in Strath-Okell, within ye baronie of Foulis and sherfdom of Inverness, &c.

No. 38. Resignation of the wadset of Skelpick and Renevy by Seaforth to Donald, 1st Lord Reay, 27 June, 1637:—

Reay Papers.

Be it kent till all men be yr. present letter, We George erle of Seafort, Lord of Kintail, of air maill servit and retourit to umql. Coline, earle of Seafort, our brother, forasmeikle as according to ane contract and appoyntment of ye dait at Cromartie ye 28 day of Septembre, the zeir of God 1626 zeirs, maid and subscryvit betwix my said umql. brother on the ane part and ane nobill lord, Donald Lord of Rae, thairin designat Sir Donald McKy of Strathnaver, knyt, lord, colonell, on ye uther part, for ye sume of 7000 merks usual money of thir realme restand awand be ye said nobill lord as prnill., and be my said umql. as cautioner to the persens underwrittin, ilk ane for yr. awne pairts yr.of in maner efter devydit; To umql. James Haliburtoune, merchant, burgess of Edinburgh the sume of 1000 punds money; and to Mr Robert Munro, minister at ye kirk of Far, yr'in designit minister at Duranes, the sume of 5500 merkes forsaid. My said umql. brother at least be ane band givin to ye said nobill lord, Donald Lord of Rae, bound and obleyst him to stent and pay the said several sumes to ye forsaids twa persones, ilk ane for yr. awin pairt yr'of as is before devydit, and that at the terme of Witsunday nixt thereafter following, in the zeir of God 1627 zeirs, and to report and delyver to ye said umql lord the said bands, at least sufficient dylrances yr'upone as yr. band in and be my said umql. brother yranent proportis. The said Donald, Lord of Rae, for

securitie to my said umql. brother of ye said soumes of 7000 merkes, be his charter centening yr'in precept of seasing with instrument of seasing following yr'on infeft and seast my said umql. brother his airis maill and assignies qt. sumever in all and heall the said nobill lord his lands of Skelpick, extending to twa davach of land, and in all and heall the lands of Reyndvie, extending to ane davach land, with houses, etc., lyand within the baronie of Far and shrefdome of Inverness, Redemabill always fra my said umql brother his airis maill and assignies on payment making of ye said sume of 7000 merkes, and ye heall byrune dewties of ye sume of 700 merkes contenit in ane tak of ye saids woodsett lands, pertaining to ye said nobill lord, qlk sould happin to be restand awand tyme of ye redemption, as ye said contract of ye dait foresaid charter and instrument of seasing following yr'upon sicklyke mair fullie proportis. And now seeing since the decease of our said umql. brother the said nobill lord has be his precept of seasing with instrument of seasing following yr'upon infeft and seast we as air maill to our said umql. brother in all and heall the saids woodsett lands, we have guid and undoubted right to grant the redemption and renunciation underwrittin, and lykwayes that ye said lord has substantlie at ye making heirof payit and delyverit to Mr Murdo Mackenzie, persone of Contane, as our nomine, for ye lawfull redempcioning of ye said woodsett lands all and heall the said sume of 7000 merkes money forsaids, togethir with the zearlie tak dewtie of 700 merkes money furth the forsaid woodsett, Of ye qlk sume principall and tak dewtie we hold us weall contentit satisfied and payit the 27 June, 1637, before the witnesses, Kenneth Mackenzie of Skatell, Mr Murdo Mackenzie, persone of Contene, Wm. Lauder, shrf.-clerk of Ros.

No. 39. Erection of the parish of Kintail, afterwards known as

Tounge, by agreement between Donald, 1st Lord Reay, and John Abernethy, Bishop of Caithness, 10 Apr., 1638:—

REAY PAPERS.

At Thurso the tenth day of Aprill, the zeir of God ane thousand six hundred threttie aught zeirs, It is agreit betwixt the honl. pairtyes following, they are to say, ane reverend father Johne, be the mercie of God Bischope of Cathnes, with consent of the deane and chapter of the Cathedral kirk , for the love and zeal qlk the saids parties hes and carries to plant the Gospell, and for the better edificatione of the people remaining and that sall be heireefter within the countrie of Strathnaver; And although that there hes bein but twa parochines of aulde in the countrie in tyme of poperie, and since of late in or awne tyme thair are bot twa ministers serveing the said twa kirks, we find it ane work impossible for twa pastores to thrine (sic) that wyde and spacious bounds so far seprat from uther be mountains, rocks, watters, creiks, and loches, of salt as freshe water, And albeit the valeautione of the heale countrie was givin upe be the said Donald Lord Raye to the commissioners as two parochines, to witt, Far and Ardurnes, and the sume of five hundred merks Scots the saids kirks present, and at annie ret we think it meitest (?) both to the glorie of God and f[illegible] of the people as also for the better and ministering of th[illegible]ts, that pairt be takin of the parochine of Farr and pairt f[illegible]rochine of Ardurnes, and that there sall be ane third paroch[illegible]cted in the middest of the countrie in Kintaill, and the kirk of Kirkeboll to be the paroche kirk of the said parochine to be erected as said is. And that the said kirk sall be furnished with ane sufficient minister with all possible diligence, and he to have the soame of five hundred merks Scots money of stipend together with ane gleibe and ane manse, the qlk five hundred merks money to be payit as follows, viz., two hundred and fifty merks to be taken of the stipend of the said parochine of Far, and the uther two hundred and fifty merks money as said is to be takin of the stipend of the parochine of Ardurness, to

witt, the sum of tuentie nine merks money forsaid of ilk davache land, as they wer valued and tinen up, with the devision that the said Donald Lord Ray and the thrie ministers sall devyid equallie and finally the same up under their hand wreat. And the said reverend father for himself and his successors, and the said Donald Lord Raye for himself and his aires and successors consentis that any sall compeir in ther name befoir the lords of commissioners for or befoir the lords of parliament, to crawe and obteine ther decreit and act of ratificatione of the said devision of the twa parochines of Far and Ardurnes into thrie parochines, and partitioun of the stipends thairof, as said is; consenting this present act be insert registrat in the presbitrie books of Cathnes, thairin to remain *ad futuram rei memoriam*, as that at the first sinod than may be ane act maid upon the premises in forme as effeires.

J. B. of Caithnes.
Johne Sinclair of Asserie.
D. Reay.
Hector Munro, Eriboll.

No. 40. Bond of Friendship betwixt George, Earl of Seaforth, and Donald, 1st Lord Reay, 7 June, 1639:—

Reay Papers. Be it kenit till all men be thir present lres., Us George, Earl of Seafort, and Donald, Lord Reay, considering how warrandable it is be the word of God and lawes of this kingdom that his Majesties good and loyall subjects may legally uneit and joyne themselves togedder in friendshipe, and being persuaded yat our connection and

keiping of friendshipe may everie mutche tende to the advancement of religion, the king's Majesties service, and the keeping of peace and tranquillitie in the places where we live and have our being; Considering lykeways yt. our mutual freindship under God and our soueraigne lord the king's Majestie may very much conduce to the particular weill and standing of either our houses and families and to the good of all our freinds vassalls and tennants, Therefor out of thir good and legall considerations and for conservation of trowe and solide freindshipe betwixt us our airs and successours in all tyme coming, Wit ye us to have entered and becom, lykas we be the tenour hereof enters and becomes, in the real trew and legall bond of ametie love and freindshipe togedder, favthfully obliging us our airs and successours forsayds uppon our fayth and honour *hinc inde* to others to keep the samen remain and contenoue thereuntill in all tyme coming, And to that effect be our selss, our kyne, freinds, vassalls, tennants, follouirs, and dependers, and be our best airte and counsall to legally efectullye trewlie and faythfully assist, manteine and defend others in all and quhatsumever our lawfull honest just and richtous affairs business actions and quarrells quatsumever, in so far as law will allenarly and no otherways (all matters which may concern the king and his Majesties successours being always excepted), And yt. we sall heer nor see any trouble, prejudere, harme, or skaith intended or done against any of us our kyne, freinds, our vasssalls, in our persouns, honour, lands, countre, goods, or gear bot sall in ane lauful maner mak others forseen thereof with all dilligence, and legally impeid and obviat the sam according to our power. And to the effects yt. this band of freindship may be the better observed in succeiding aiges, it is our will and pleasour yt after our deceis the same sall be lawfully renued be our airs and successours fra tyme to tyme; promeising hereby yt. in tyme convenient we sall mak the premisses known to our kyne and freinds to the intent the same may be the better observed. At Chanonrie the seventh day of Junii, JMVIC threttie nyne yeers, before thir witness, Huch.

MacKy of Ethachilis and Mr Murdoch McKenzie, minister of Contane.

Jo. Mky of Dilrett.
William Macky
of Bighouse.
Hew Macky,
sone to Johne Macky.
H. Macky, wi'ness.
Murdo McKenzie, witness.

SEAFORT.
D. Reay.
Jo. McKeay.

No. 41. LETTER by John, 2nd Lord Reay, to King Charles II:—

Strachnaver the 22 April, 1654.

SCOT. HIST. SOC., VOL. 31.

MOST SACRED SOVERANE, Upone your Majesty's Levtenmant-Generall's landinge in Schotlande, I did immediatlye aplye my selfe to him, and for the securitie of his persone and advancement of your Majesties service, I did immediatlye rayse in armis with such a power as was not oneley sufficientt for a guard to him, bot lyckwayes served to promove your Majesties service in the adjacent peartis by raisinge forsses till my Lord Glenkarne's did come, beinge at a grytte distance. It heas, and shall ever be my chiefest zeall without privett ends to advance your Majesties interest, in which the weill beinge of all your subjectis is wrapped up. Ther is nothinge under heaven soe much coveted by me as your Majesties presence in this your auncient kingdom off Schotlande. I schall leave perticullaris which macy indousce your Majesty to make us happie by aperinge amongest us to thois whome it consernes to give ane accounte, and whome I know will doe it with much fathfullnes. Haveinge not as yet receaved your Majesties former commands sentt with Normande M'Cloude, I schall onlye say that none off your Majesties subjectis heas pout one a moir fixed ressolustione to serff youe then, Most

Sacreitt Soverane, Your Majesties moste fothfuill and moste obedientt subject and servantt, Reay.

Addressed . . . For the Kings most sacred Majestie theis.

No. 42. ARTICLES of AGREEMENT between General Monck and John, 2nd Lord Reay, 18 May, 1655 :—

Scot. Hist. Soc. Vol. 54.

Articles of Agreement made and concluded the eighteenth day of May, 1655, between the Right Honorable Generall Monck, commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, for and on behalfe of his Highnesse the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland on the one parte, and Hugh Mackey, for and on behalfe of the Right Honourable John, Lord Rea, and his partie on the other parte :—

"Itt is agreed and concluded that the Lord Rea shall, together with all horsemen of his partie included in this capitulation, repaire or come to such place neere Invernesse as Collonel Fitch shall appointe within twentie eight dayes next after signeing of these present articles, and then and there deliver upp theire armes to Collonell Fitch, to whome they are to give notice twenty fower howers before theire approach.

"That the Lord Rea shall give security of two thousand pounds bond to the saide Collonel Fitch within 14 dayes after his parties delivering upp theire armes, for his and his friends and followers peaceable deportment to his Highnesse the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of England and his successors. And that Hugh MacKey of Dilred, Hugh McKey of Scowry, Robert McKey, Donald McKey, and William MacKey shal be bounde in the bond, and shall have protection from arrests whilst they come in to enter in to bond as aforesaide. And that George, Master of Rea, sone to the said

Lord Rea, shall, when the commander-in-cheefe in Scotland shall desire it, bee sent to and reside at such of the universities in Scotland as the Lord Rea shall c[illegible] for the performance of these articles; and that such others [illegible] in this capitulation of the saide Lord Rea's forces or par[illegible] have estates in land or were officers under him, shall give good security for theire peaceable deportment, a lieutenant-colonel in the summe of three hundered pounds, a majour two hundered pounds, a captain in one hundered pounds, a lieutenant or cornet in sixty pounds, and an ensigne in fifty pounds, and the privat souldjours shall give theire engagements to the like purpose.

"That the officers shal bee at liberty to march away with theire horses and swords, and the privat souldjours with theire horses, to theire respective habitations or places of abode, where they are to sell theire horses within three weekes to theire best advantage; and both officers and souldjours are to have passes from Collonel Fitch to goe to theire h[illegible]mes. And that the said Lord Rea and his friends and followers [illegible] have liberty to carry theire armes for theire owne defence agains[illegible] roken men and theeves within theire owne bounds.

"That the saide Lord Rea, together with all those of his partie included in this capitulation, whether officers, privat souldjours, or servants under his Lordship, who have not kil'd men in could bloud, shall enjoy theire estates, both real and personall, without any trouble or molestation, any act or thing by them formerly done in reference to the late warrs betweene England and Scotland since the yeare 1648 notwithstanding, they submitting to all common burthens equall with others of the nation. Provided that such of Lord Rea's partie as have any lands in Ireland that are already disposed of by Act of Parliament, his Highnesse, or his Councill, or the Lord Deputy and Councill in Ireland, are not to have or claime them by vertue of these Articles, but what lands of theires are not disposed of they are to have and enjoy.

"That the Lord Rea shal bee remitted his whole by-past sesse till the first of September last, from which tyme hee is to pay it in according to his proportion. And that whensover Collonel Fitch, or other officers commanding in Caithnesse or Invernesse, shall have occasion to send for the Lord Rea about publicque affaires, his Lordship shall passe and repasse without arresting or molestation by messingers at armes.

"That all such horsemen of the saide Lord Rae's partie who shall conceale or willingly imbeazle theire armes, and not bring them in to Collonel Fitch according to this agreement, shall loose the benefitt of these Articles.

"That in case there bee any howse or howses of strength within the Lord Rea's bounds that the commander-in-cheefe in Scotland shall require to be guarrison'd, the Lord Rea shall by these articles bee engaged to deliver upp the same.

"That these Articles shal bee rattified by his Highnesse the Lord Protector and his Councill, and delivered to the Lord Rea, or whome hee shall appointe, within three monthes after the date hereof.

George Monck.
Hugh MacKey.

Sealed and signed in presence of:—
Thos. Pride. Wm. Clarke.
Mathew Lock."

No. 43. TACK of the parsonage and vicarage teinds of the parishes of Farr, Kintail, and Durness, by Patrick Forbes, Bishop of Caithness, to John Lord REAY, 5 May and 1 June, 1665.

REAY PAPERS. Be it kend till all men be thir present lettres, Us PATRICK, be the mercie of God Bischope of Cathnes, for certane soumes of mony others gratitudis pleasurs and good deids payit made and done to us

for makeing of thir puttis, in name of entres and grassume, be ane Noble Lord, John Lord of Reay, heritur of the lands undervreitne, off the qlk. soume we hold us fullie satisfied and payed, And rynuncing all exceptions in the contrar simplir. discharges the said Johne Lord Reay and all others whom it effeirs of the resett of the said soumes for ever; Thairfoir and for others guid and reasonable causes and considerationes moveing us, with the speall. advyse and consent of the Deane and Chapter of our cathedral kirke of Caithnes, the weill and utilitie of us and our successors bischopis of Caithnes always forseine and considerit, To Have sett and in tacks and assedations lattne, Lykas we be the tennor hereof with advyse and consent forsaid Settis and in tack and assedatione lattis to the said Johne Lord of Reay, his aires successors and assignayes, All and sundrie the teynds great and small, both personadge and vicaradge, of all and haill the tounes and landis of Houpe, Mailness and Strath thr'of, Kenlochis, Rubigill, Kensett, Scrabustir, Farlonset, Kirkeboll, Tongue and Strath thairof, Caldonbakie, Scourlomie, Lattires Lengyll, Borgmoir, Toirsdaill, Skerra, Illanroana, Illandcolme, Illangyll, Erriboll, Illandchorrie, Hulleime, Armiboll, Strath-Hurridaill containing the lands of Mussell and Blaet, with the gressings, pairts and pendicles of the saids lands, lyand within the parochines of Duirnes and Kirkiboll rexve., And also of all and haill the tounis and landis of Kirtomie, Swordaillie, Schanachie, Rescarpe, Schraske, and the east syd of the Clannylen of Farr, lyeing within the paroche of Farr, with the haill pairts, pendicles, outsetts, gressings shiellings, anexis, connexis, dependancies, and universall pertinents of the samyn, lyand as said is within the saids porocheis of Duirnes, Farr, and Kirkiboll rexve., within our diocie of Caithnes, whilk is proper part of our said bischoprike somtyme within the shireffedome of Invernes, and now errectit within the shireffdome of Sutherland—whilk tynd great and small pertains to us as ane proper pairt of the patriemonie of our said bischoprik—And that for all the space, cropts, yeirs, and termes of nyneteine yeirs nixt and imediatly followeing the feast and tearme of

Lambmes nixtocom, in this instant yeir of God jaiVic and threescoir four yeirs, whilk is and shall be the said Johne Lord of Reay and his forsaids entres to this pnt. tacke, And fra thynefurth to continow and induire aye and whill the saids nynteine yeirs be compleitlie endit and outrune. With pouer to the said Johne Lord of Reay and his forsaids duireing the haill yeirs and space abovewreitne to collect, gather, uplift, receave, lead away, intromit with, use, and dispone upon the teyndis great and small both personadge and vicaradge off the haill lands and vthers above speit., inhibitiones yeirlie yr'upon to raise, the spulziers, awaytakers, detayners, and witholders to call follow and persew, with frie isch and entrie thrto, And with all and sindrie vther liberties, priviledges, friedomes, comodities, easements, and rightious pertinents of the samyn frielie, queyetlie, weill, and in peace, bot any obstackle, impediment, or againe-calling whatsumevir. PAYAND therfor yeirlie the said Johne Lord of Reay and his forsaids duireing the haill space and yeirs forsaid, to us and our successors bischops of Caithness, for all and sindrie the said teyindis great and small both personadge and vicaradge of the forsaids lands and others above wreitne with the pertinents All and Haill, the soume of fourtie merks usual scotis mony at the termes in the yeir Peasch and Lambmie be equal portiones, beginand the first terme's payment yr'of at the feast and terme of Peasch, in the yeir of God jaiVic three scoir fyve yeirs, and sua furth yeirlie duireing the space of this pnt. tack, And that for all other exactione maybe askit or requeyrit thrfor. and also the said Johne Lord Reay and his forsaids being allwayis bound and oblisit to content and pay, duireing this tacke to the ministers serueing at ye cuire of the kirkis of the abovewreitne paroches rexve., ane or mae, the just proportionall pairts of ther yeirlie steipends conform to the lands teynds vicaradge and others above speit. And we, forsuith, and our successors sall warrand and defend this our lettres of tacke and assedatione of all and sindrie the teynds great and small of the lands and vthers abovewritne to the said Johne Lord of Reay and his forsaids, duireing the haill space

and yeirs abovewreitne in all and be all things as is above mentioned fra our owne proper fact and deid allernerlie, agains all mortall as law will, in sich sort that we have not done nor heirefter sall doe anything in prejudice of the premiss. IN WITNESS of the whilk thing to yir puts. (wreitne be Gilbert Omand, not. public) subscryvit with our hand, and be the said Dean and Chapter of our said cathedral kirke in tokne of thir consent, At Dornoch on ye fyft daye of Maii and ye first day of Junii, the yeir of God jaiVic and three scoir fyve yeirs, our proper seall and the Chapter seall of our said Kirke ar heirto appendit befor thir witnessis, James McKy in Strathie, Mr Hew Monro, minister at Ardurnes, and Robert Farquhar, servitor to the said Bishop of Caithnes.

Ja. Mackay, witness.
Ro. Farquhar, witness.

Mr D. Monro, Tresourer of Caithnes.
Hugh Monro, witness.

Pa. B. Cathnes.
Will. Davidson, Dean.
Alexr. Gibsoune, Archdeacon.
John Dempster, Chanter.
William MacKy, Chancellor.

No. 44. BOND of FRIENDSHIP betwixt Kenneth, Earl of Seaforth, and John, 2nd Lord Reay, 4 July, 1672:—

REAY PAPERS.

Wee Kenneth, Earl of Seafortt, and John Lord Reay takeing to consideration that the grete ty of so nere a relation by blood as wee have to other, together with ye constant kindness and good correspondence yt. was still betwixt us and our predecessors, for further secureing and establishment of these bonds and as suitable affection thereupon, wee doe hereby bind our selfs on faith and honor mutually to maintain and entertain ye said friendship in all points and on all occasions (with submission and obedience to his Majesties authority

and laws alwayes); And in prosecution thereof to owne on anothers intrest faithfully and cordially, and yt. wee shall cause our kinsmen freends and vassalls and followers to observe ye like freendly correspondence, and particularly yt. none of us shall buy pleas or debts nor have wee bought any against oyr., nor entertayn theeves or robbers yt. wrongs eyr. of us or our kinsmen freends vassalls or followers, nor afford shelter in our country to any who is declared or behaves as enimies to eyr. of us; But on the contrar to prosecut the enimies of these or. freinds and to apprehend them and to deliver them to those offended by ym. on representation made to uther of us by the party offended, and in generall to doe and carry wt. other in tyme of peace or warr as faithfull freends with submission to his Majesties authority on our soules and honours. Witnes these written at Achmore in Assin ye 4 of July, Jaivie seventy two, before these witnesses, Sr. Donald McDonald of Sleatt, Archibald McDod. of Borrinescittack, Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, Hugh Fraser Belladrum, Hector Monro of Obstell, Hector Monro of Killein, Hugh Monro of Ereboll, Alexander McKenzie of Garloch, Colline McKenzie of of Reedcastle, Kenneth McKenzie of Suddy, Angus McKy of Mealeness, Hugh McKy of Bighouse, Capt. William McKy tutor of Scoury, Robert McKy in Achnes, and Sr. George McKenzie of Tarbatt.

Sic subscribitur.

No. 45. Letters of Fire & Sword granted by the king, at the instance of Lord Reay and others, dated 3 Sep., 1668:—

P. C. Reg. Letters of Fire and Sword granted by King Charles II. at the instance of John Lord Reay, Hugh Munro of Erriboll, William Munro his brother, Dame Barbara McKy Lady Reay, and McKy, spouse to the said Hugh Munro of Erriboll, for themselves and in name and behalf of the remanent kin and friends of the deceased

Hector and William McKy &c., against William Sinclair of Dunbeath, John Sinclair of Murkle, John Gun his servitor, and Donald Forbes servitor to Dunbeath, who were orderlie denounced rebels for not compearing before the Lords Justices upon the 24 November last, conform to criminal letters issued against them, for convening themselves with about 1200 others of the shire of Caithness, and invading in March last the sheriffdom of Sutherland and Strathnaver with fire and sword and committing great spoil, and also for the slaughter of umquhill William McKy of Scoury in February last, and for the murder of umquhill Hector McKy of Scourie his brother, upon the 11th day of August last by shooting him in several parts of the body &c. And thereafter constitute and appoint Archibald, Earl of Argyle, George, Earl of Caithness, Campbell of Glenurchie, Sir John Munro of Fowlis, the Laird of Balnagown, Sir George Munro, Captain William McKy of Borlie, and Sir Robert Gordon of Embo, commissioners, with full power for convocating the lieges and searching for taking and apprehending the said persons, and in case of resistance or hostile oppossition to pursue them to death &c. Dated at Edinburgh 3rd day of December, 1668.

No. 46. Disposition in a liferent of the lands of Coulnafearn &c. by Murdo Mackay in Carnach to his wife Jane, daughter of Captain William Mackay of Borley, 17 Sep., 1681:—

Ray Papers.

Me Murdo MacKy in Carnach, heritable proprietor of the lands and grassings under descrybed with their pertinents: Forasmeikle as be contract matrimonial made ended and p[illegible]l betwixt me on the ane pairt, and Captain William MacKy of L[illegible]y for himself and as burdentaker for Jane MacKy, his laull. daughter now my spouse, on the oyr. pairt, of the dait 167[illegible] yeirs, I was obleidged to infeft and saise be charter and sufficient *titulo* the said Jane MacKy my spouse

in lyfrent during all the days of her lyftyme, and the airs laullie. to be gotten betwixt me and her in fie, in the principal sowme of 2000 merks usual Scots money, as the said contract of the said dait forsaid containing severall heids articles and clauses in itself at mair length bears. Wherefore (bot prejudice of the said oyr. thousand merks contained in the said contract), and for the love and favour qlk. I have and bear to the said Jane MacKy and Robert MacKy, my oldest lawfull son procreat betwixt me and her of the said marriage, and for other good causes and considerations moveing me herto, Witt ye me to have sold and annailzied and disponed, Lykas be thir pnts., under the reservations underwrit'en and no other ways, sell anailzie and dispone to the said Jane MacKy, my said spouse, in lyferent during all the days of her lyfetyme, and the said Robert by my said spouse his airs and assignies, in fie heritably and irredeemably all and heall the lands and grassings of Coulnafearn and west side of Strabegg, the lands and grassings of Drimrinnie, Tobbernanuiskeach and Anloane, pairts and pendicles and pertinents of the samen, Lyand within the sherifdome of Sutherland and baronies of Kintail and Durness respt. &c.

At Farr the 17 day of Sep., 1681. Witnesses, Maister Donald Macintosh, minister at Farr, Donald Macmarcus, schoolmaster yr.

No. 47. Will and Disposition of David Nicholson in Torrisdale and his spouse, in favour of Donald, Master of Reay, 5 June, 1710:—

Reay Papers.

Know all men by thir pnt. lettres, Us David Nicholson in Torrisdail and Moar M'Ky, spouse, for the love and favour and dutiful respects we have and doth bear and carie towards Donald, Master of Reay, Therefor, and for diverse and sundry onerous causes and weighty considerations moving us to the granting hereof, Witt you us to have sold, assigned, and disponed, likeas we sell asigne and

dispone by these from us our heirs exers. and all others our assignies, to and in special favours of the said Donald, Master of Reay, his heirs or assignies, All and sundrie our whole movable goods, gear, cornes, horses, mairs, staigs, foals, oxen, steers, cows young and old, stirks, calves, sheep, yows, wedders, rams, lambs, goats, kids, insight plenishing, outainsell, and dominsells, all debts due to us by word or write by whatsoever person or persons, within or without the shyre, somes of money lying beside us, silver, gold, jewels, coined or uncoined, and all other moveables presently belonging to us both, or what of the forsaid qualities or quantities may be acquired conquished by us and pertaining and belonging to us at the time of our decease &c. Subscribing at our command, because we cannot write ourselves, At Torisdail the 5 day of June 1710 yeirs, Before thir witnesses, Hector MacKy of Skerray, John MacKy taxman of Strathtong, and John MackPhail, writer.

No. 48. Extract of LETTER with reference to the glebe of Farr, by the 3rd Lord Reay, dated 1718:—

REAY PAPERS.

"Donald Master of Reay [father of 3rd Lord Reay] gave to Mr. Donald Macintosh, his governour, when he was settled minister of Farr a tack of several lands whereof Ardbeg was a part, and the Master dying soon thereafter Mr. Macintosh keepied possession of all these lands till he was transported to Strathspey. Mr. John Macpherson succeeded him at Farr when the Lord Reay was abroad and a minor, and took possession of Ardbeg on pretence that Mr. Macintosh told him he had it as his glibe . . . . .

"A tack is found between Mr. Robert Munro, first minister of Farr, and Donald, Lord Reay, the first possessed heritor, by which he sets to the Lord Reay during his incumbency his glib and mainse in Skaile which are church lands, which plainly shows that Ardbeg

never was the glib. Probably while the Lord Reays predecessors were sole heritors of that parish they might have given the minister lands near the church in exchange of his glib, which was at a distance from him. And here it is worth notice that in the time of popery the priest resided at Skaill &c."

No. 49. Extract from a DOCUMENT by the 3rd Lord Reay, regarding the erection of the parishes of Tongue, Durness, and Ederachillis, 14 , 1724:—

REAY PAPERS.

Be it know to all men by these presents, Us George, Lord Reay, forasmuch as upon our application to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland representing the vast extent of the parish of Durness in Strathnaver, and the great need there was of more ministers for dispensing Gospel ordinances in that place, which having been concurred with by the Presbytery of Caithness and Synod of the boynds, The forsaid General Assembly by their act, dated 13 May 1721, did grant a recommendation for a voluntary contribution throught all the parishes of Scotland, to be gathered from house to house by the elders and deacons; and appointed the procurator and agent for the Church to raise and carry on all processes needful for the erecting and settling as many parishes in the forsaid bounds as the said public collection then recommended and the teinds of the said parish would admit of. And there being already come in of the said collection the sum of 26000 merks, and a decreet obtained before the Lords of Council and Session, commissioners appointed for the plantation of churches and valuation of teinds, Upon our consent DISPONING the said parish of Durness and erecting the same into three parishes, viz., The bounds from the extremity of Torrisdale on the east to the extremity of Westmoin in the west, and from Straan-Melnes in the north to Letterloyal towards the south, inclusive of all

that bounds with the islands of Roan, Colm, and Rabbit, into one parish to be called the parish of Tounge, and that the church already built there be the church thereof.

SECONDLY, the bounds from Westmoin in the east, including Hope and Freskell, to Keuldale in the west, and from Clashneach in the north to Strathurradale in the south, all inclusive with the islands of Hoa and Chory, into another parish to be called the parish of Durness, and that the church already built there be the church thereof

THIRDLY, the bounds from Glencule in the south to Tarbet in the north, and from Duartbeg in the west to Aultinrinnie in the east, with the island of Handa and the lands of Auldshoars inclusive of these bounds, into a third parish to be called the parish of Ederachilis, and that a church be built upon the ground there called Duartbeg. Also ordaining that a manse for the minister of each of the said three several parishes be built near the respective churches with glebs &c. . . . . .

And Modifying and Localling the sum of 800 merks Scots money of stipend and 40 merks for furnishing communion elements to each of the forsaid three parishes to be paid in manner following, To witt, to the minister of the parish of Tongue 800 merks and the agrent of 800 merks of the said collection; Item, to the minister of the parish of Durness the sum of £100 Scots out of the teinds of the same and the agrent of 13,800 merks of the forsaid collection: And to the minister of the parish of Ederachilis £180 Scots out of the teinds thereof, and the agrent of 11400 merks of the said collection for stipends and communion elements. In so far as concerns that part of the said stipends payable out of the teinds, being 1220 merks yearly, to be locally paid to the said respective ministers by us and our successors in the lands belonging to us within the above mentioned parishes, and other heritors therein, tenants, possessors, and intromiters with the rents and teinds thereof, and that yearly at two terms Whitsunday and Martinmas. . . . . .

And we did further agree that, albeit the teinds of the said

parishes in any valuation thereof to be led by us should happen to be found insufficient for the above stipends of 1220 merks modified, yet our lands and estate in the forsaid parishes should remain liable to the burden of these stipends conform to the said decreet &c. &c.

No. 50. LETTER by the Rev. William Wishart, Moderator of the General Assembly, to Lord Reay—regarding the proposed erection of the Presbytery of Tongue, 1 June, 1724:—

REAY PAPERS

My Lord, Your Lordship's letter in April last directed to me and another from the Rev. Presbytery of Caithness concerning the design not only of erecting diverse new parishes, but also a new presbytery in your country and giving a geographical description of the bounds, was read in the General Assembly and the same gave great satisfaction to them, and it is hoped will very much encourage such as have not contributed to that excellent design yet to do it. The Assembly ordered me in their name to write a return to you in their name, as now I do, thanking and commending your Lordship for your christian charity and great zeal for promoting the interest of religion, and assuring your Lordship that they will do all they can on their part to encourage your Lordship's noble and excellent design in this matter.

And as your Lordship's proposal about the parish of Assint's being a part of the new presbytery in your country, it seemed very plausible; and though that parish be declared a part of the Presbytery of Gairloch, yet it is only temporary till the General Assembly should consider the matter.

I pray the Lord may abundantly reward your Lordship and noble family for your pious and exemplary appearances for promoting religion. What your Lordship is doing in this matter will make your memory savoury to the godly in after generations as well as the present, and I hope the Lord will make up what you are pleased to

bestow this way. And your Lordship will have much satisfaction and comfort upon a reflection of what you have done for the house and service of God and good of precious souls &c.

William Wishart.

No. 51. Copy of MINUTE of the Presbytery of Tongue—regarding the designation of a glebe for the mini[illegible] of Tongue, 9 Aug., 1731:—

REAY PAPERS.

At Tongue 9th August, 1731, Which day the Presbytery met &c. The Presbytery next proceeded to design a glebe, and having taken the oaths of three of the most knowing neighbours, viz., Murdoch and Neil MacKays, and Alexander MacAngus, tenants in Kirkiboll, in presence of Donald Mac-Eanicomil, officer to the Lord Reay for his Lordship's interest, did remove them and ordered them upon the said disposition to design a glebe, conform to the previous agreement betwixt my Lord Reay and the Presbytery, viz., That since the rents of the whole country are payable out of grass and arable land together, and consequently that the acres and grass cannot be given in terms of law precisely, therefore each minister should have an equivalent of these acres and grass of one pennyland or £42 Scots rent, and the quantity of land and grass ever to remain for a glebe and grass in the parish of Tongue. These men having taken sufficient time returned and reported that they had laid aside the fields following, viz., The field called Clagin Mor, situated between the manse and the highway leading to the church, from south-east to north-west; Item, the field called Claginbeg, betwixt the said way and the field called Durin: Item, the fourth fifth and sixth riggs of the said Durin, reckoning from the side nearest Claginbeg; Item, the field called Rean-nardich-nahaglish; Item, the upper Farthing of Raonmacaorach, containing the Cairalech, Magin Pheadar, and four riggs of the field called Glaicaraonmhoir (?), reckoning from the side nearest the way leading

to Tongue, with the fifth part of the hill and valley grass and hay of the town, because the said glebe is a fifth part of the town where it is designed, with free isch and entry, foggage, fewel, feal, and divots, and pasturage, all of which make up a pennyland of the next adjacent to the kirk and manse, valued at £42 Scots rent.

No. 51a. LETTER[1] by George, 3rd Lord Reay, to John Sinclair of Ulbster, Sheriff of Caithness, 18 Aug., 1733—regarding the wearing of arms at markets etc:—

Sir, Tongue, 18 Augt., 1733.

You do me justlie in believing that it is my inclination to cultivate a good understanding with all my neighbours, and its my constant endeavour to persuade this country people that it is their duty as well as their interest to follow my example; nothing but the height of ignorance and weakness can occasion that people of the same nation and religion, and now by trade etc. usefull to each other, should differ because of a different surname, county, or being divided from each other by a brook or a hill. But the truth is the common people retain too much of the old feuds, which all men of honour should run down, and their example will in some time prevail. I fully approve of your resolution, and will concurr with you therein by being as heavie on my own people when guilty and as easie to any in your shyre as the case can allow of; and this I take to be the right method.

I got yours only late last night and consequently could not warn all my own people, much less those of Strath and Lochnaver, but gave a warrant this morning to James Mackay tacksman of Hope, to

1. We are indebted for this letter to the Rev. W. H. Telford, U.F. Manse, Reston, into whose possession it has fallen, and who kindly drew our attention to it after our Appendix had been compiled, hence the mode of numbering to get it inserted chronologically.

be communicate to all I'm concerned in, and which I desyred him shew you, dischar ing any of my people to bring arms along with them; but if some ave them who could not be warned these are to be excused for this time, and I'le answer for them hereafter, and ordered such to leave their arms in their quarters and not to wear them. But then you must take care to prevent any of your commons wearing arms at this or any other market, else you'll easily own that it will not be in my power to prevent this countrymen doeing the same next occassion, tho its my reall wish that instead of quarrelling they would rather do each other all the good offices in their power. I ordered James Mackay etc. to concurr with you in punishing and bringing to justice any of my people shall deserve it, and to ask justice of you of any injuries shall be done them and not presume to revenge the same, or to be judge and party in their own cause; and I doubt but you'll deall by them if there is occassion as I did with Donald Campbell. Meantime, your speaking a civill word to some of the leading men in this countrey would be a good mean to make them shun what would disoblige you.

I expected to have seen you here when you was at Strathy, nor would I be so near your house in Caithness unwaited of your Lady and you, much less att Innerbrechre (?) and Dornoch without comeing to Culcairnor, Cyderhall, where we were in October last.

I wonder you don't cause Mr. Brodie expede that chartor: my doer acquaints me that he has given over speaking to him of it.

My eldest son and his wife went Wednesday to their house at Durness. My wife and the rest of my family join with me in their complements to your Lady, you and yours.

I am, Sir, Your most affectionate cousin and humble servant,

To Mr. Joh. Sincuir. REAY.

P.S. I wrote to my son Hugh to stop all the arms going by.

No. 52. LETTER of George, 3rd Lord Reay, to the Earl of Sutherland, proposing the resumption of friendly relations between the families of Reay and Sutherland, 1 July, 1745:—

REAY PAPERS.

My Lord, It was one of the principall maximes which I laid down at my first settling in this country for my conduct of civil life, that I should maintain an inviolable attachment to the honour and interest of the family of Sutherland. Your Lordship's grandfather and father were so well satisfied of my zeal to serve them that they allwise trusted to my fidelity and friendship and never was disappointed; I expected in likemanner to have shared in your Lordship's friendship and confidence, and did all in my power to deserve it on every occasion wherein either your Lordship's honour or interest required it, until I found that some of these, whom your Lordship favoured most, pursued measures inconsistent with the interest of my family, and in my weak judgment not altogether calculated for the interest of the family of Sutherland or your Lordship's honour and quiet. It was these persons and these measures which I found myself obliged to oppose, and not the Earl of Sutherland nor the interest of his family. For I always looked upon myself not only as a relation but the first friend of the family of Sutherland, as being most capable to serve them in all events; and whenever your Lordship is disposed to consider me in that light you'l find me as firmly attached to your honour and interest, and that of your family's both at home and abroad, as I have been in your grandfather and father's time. I heartily wish that all our differences were buried in oblivion, and to that end I have made some proposals which I think are equall and honourable, and for the real interest of your Lordship's family, as well as my own, and which my son George will lay before you whenever your Lordship pleases. I have the honour to be, with great respect, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

REAY.

Tongue House 1 July, 1745.

No. 53. Bond of Friendship between George, 3rd Lord Reay, and William, Earl of Sutherland, 18 and 26 July, 1745:—

Reay Papers.

At Tongue and Dunrobin the 18th and 26th July, 1745, It is mutuallie agreed and condeacended upon between the parties following, viz., the Right Hon. William, Earl of Sutherland, on the one part, and the Right Honl. George, Lord Reay, on the other part as follows: That is to say, forasmuch as some differences and disputes have arisen between us to our mutual leison and prejudice on occasion of the late election of members to serve in Parliament for the shire of Sutherland and for the district of the Northern Burrows, And now seeing we are on both parts very sensible that the honour and interest of both our families will be better promoted and secured by our acting in concert and mutual agreement than by our pursuing our separate political courses, And considering especially how highly necessary it is that there should be a firm union and confidence between our families in the event of any public disturbance by an invasion or rebellion either or both of which calamities there are but too just grounds to apprehend from the restless malice of foreign and domestic enemies in the present critical conjuncture of the affairs of Europe, Therefore and to secure our acting with mutual harmony and uniting the whole strength of both our families and adherents, so as to be able in any public danger to render the more considerable and effectual service to his present Majesty, King George the Second, for supporting the succession in the Protestant line of his most illustrious house, and for securing the present happy establishment in Church and State, and for defeating the designs of his Maj's. enemies both open and secret, We do for these and many other weighty considerations mutuallie agree, and by the sacred tie and pledge of our word and honour on both sides bind and oblige ourselves and our families and followers to each other in manner and to the effect aftermentioned, to witt:—

Primo, That from henceforth we shall bury in everlasting oblivion

all differences and misunderstandings that may have unhapplie taken place between us before the date of these presents, And we promise from and after this date to cultivate a firm and inviolable friendship for the mutual support of the honour and interest of both our families for the future in conjunction with the defence of the present government in Church and State. And in order to perpetuate such mutual friendship we do agree and promise to each other that in the event of any jealousie or differences arising in the future betwixt us or our successors and families, from whatever cause or occasion and on whatever points of honour or interest, that in such case neither party shall act upon surmise or suspicion to the preiudice of the other, but on the contrarie that the partie thinking himself aggrieved shall communicate the whole matter of his jealousie to the other and that both parties sincerely endeavour have all suspicion of one another and all differences removed in the way of friendly communing and correspondence, and if any difference shall happen to subsist and that the method of removing it is attempted in vain that then it shall be submitted to the arbitration of friends *hinc inde.*

Secundo, Whereas by an act of Parliament *anno primo Regis Georgii Primi*, entitled an act for the more effectuall securing the peace in the Highlands of Scotland, we the said George Lord Reay are freed from all services commonly called personall attendance, hosting, watching, warding, &c. that were formerely due and prestable by us to the family of Sutherland by virtue of our charters from them, yet considering that in the event of any public disturbance the said noble Earl and we with our vassals and tenants and adherents would be in condition to render more considerable service to his present Majesty, as well as better promote and secure the mutual interest of both our families, by acting in concert and agreement with one another than by taking separate measures in the prosecution of those ends as is above observed, Therefore we the said George Lord Reay do by these presents bind and oblige ourselves and successors, that in the event above mentioned we shall raise all our

vassals and tenants and others capable to bear arms on our estate and employ them in conjunction with the said noble Earl and his successors and their other vassals and friends and tenants and adherents for the defence of his Majestie, King George the Second and his successors, and the present establishment in Church and State, and for the mutual defence and support of both the families of Reay and Sutherland and our several properties and legal interests.

TERTIO, It is mutuallie agreed upon by us the said William, Earl of Sutherland, and George, Lord Reay, and we solemnly promise one to another for ourselves and for our successors and our friends and adherents that we shall employ and influence and use our best endeavours in all future elections of representatives in Parliament in the way of mutual concert among ourselves, so as best to secure the forsaid ends of promoting and securing the mutual interest of both our families in conjunction with our duties to his Majestie and successors, and our subserving to the present establishment in Church and State. In testimony whereof both parties have subscribed these presents at the places and times above written before these witnesses rexiv., viz., to the subscription of us George Lord Reay at Tongue the 18 July and year forsaid, Major Hugh Mackay of General Oglethorp's regiment, Master George Mackay our second lawful son, and Mr. James Gilchrist minister of Thurso, writer hereof: And to the subscription of us the said Earl of Sutherland at Dunrobin the said 26 July and year forsaid, the said Major Hugh Mackay, and Mr. James Gilchrist, witnesses.

No. 54. ADDRESS by the Presbytery of Tongue to the Duke of Cumberland congratulating him upon his victory at Culloden, dated 1 May, 1746:—

Pres. Reg. At Thurso the seventeenth day of Jully, one thousand seven hundred and fourty six years, the Presbytery met after the Synod

and after prayer, sederunt Mr. Walter Ross, moderator, Masters John Skeldoch, Murdoch Macdonald, and John Munro, ministers—no ruling elders commonly attend. *Inter alia*, The brethren having by correspondence considered the signal deliverance of this nation from a raging unnatural rebellion, which had subsisted since August and brought on very great calamities on many parts of this and the neighbour nation, by the total, happy, and glorious defeat of the rebels at Culloden on the sixteenth day of April last by his Majesty's army under the wise and valorous conduct and command of his Royal Highness, the Duke of Cumberland, and that a deep sense of this deliverance hath justly induced several presbyteries in the north of Scotland to congratulate his Royal Highness on this remarkable occasion, have agreed by the correspondence forsaid to send them their address also; the said addre was ordered to be recorded, the tenor whereof follows:—

"Unto his Royal Highness, Prince William, Duke of Cumberland, &c., &c., the ministers of the Gospel and elders of the Presbytery of Tong begg leave with hearts full of joy and thankfulness to Almighty God, to congratulate your Royal Highness on the successful progress of his Majesty's armies under your wise and valorous conduct agst. the insolent and audacious attempts of foreign and domestick enemies to our happy constitution. The instances of this progress are so conspicuous that it may be thought needless or perhaps officious in us to mention them, yet your Goodness will permitt us to express our sense of a few of them as the genuine sentiments of our hearts. While we remember that your Royal Highness's intrepid appearance at Dettingen while yet very young, and bearing from the field of battle there the marks of being as much exposed as any there, gave an early presage to this nation, honoured with your birth, of the high spirit and courage which animated the glorious hero of immortal memory whose name you bear, and of the high command with which you are so happily invested. When we further consider the glory acquired by the gallant attack of our brave British troups at

Fontenoy, under your Highness' command, that the noble stand they there made against the flower of the arms of France, and whole sheets of continued fire from numerous and terrible batteries, could not miss to have given the enemy a total overthrow (as it gave them a most violent shock) had our business been with men and not with cannons—an action inglorious on their part, but on ours a happy means of putting them out of condition to hinder the imperial crown being set on the head of a prince, whose interest it is to keep down their power and join in keeping right the ballance of Europe. Permit us further, great Sir, to observe with pleasure and joy that when this unnatural rebellious insurrection of an infatuated part of our nation called your Royal Highness to a new scheme of action here, how quick was the agreeable change of the state of the true friends to our happy constitution. When our captivity was turned we were like men that dreamed: We were happy before we knew it. The name of the Duke of Cumberland! [illegible] to the rebells before they saw him, and when he came t[illegible] [illegible]en they soon felt the dint of his victorious arms. Go on then, brave prince, to imitate the glorious King William, like him to be the deliverer of the oppressed, the scourge of tyranny, and the defender of the rights of your native land; and may you be preserved to be more and more an honour to it and a support to your Royal Father's crown and dignity. May it please your Royal Highness, Wee take this opportunity to renew our untainted allegiance to his Sacred Majesty, King George, as our only rightful sovereign against all pretenders, and to declare our utter abhorrence of this rebellion, begun and carried on by such as have been deluded by the pretences and promises of a popish pretender's manifestoes and declarations. That God may bless and long preserve our sovereign King George, bless the Prince and Princess of Wales and all the branches of the Royal Family, and that Brittain and Ireland and all the dominions thereto belonging may never want one of the illustrious house of Hanover in the protestant line to sway the sceptre over them is our prayer. This in name and

by appointment of the Presbytery of Tong is signe at Tong this first day of May, 1746, by, may it please your Royal Highness, your Royal Highness's most faithful and most obedient and most humble servant, *sic subscribitur*, Walter Ross, moderator."

RECORD OFFICE, LONDON.

No. 55. LETTER by George, 3rd Lord Reay, to an unknown person, probably a Government official—regarding the settlement of the Highlands after the overthrow at Culloden,[1] dated 2 Sep., 1746:—

Sir,

As I have the right settlement of the Highlands much at heart, I beg leave to hint to you whether it would not be for the interests of the Government, and a means to establish these wild people in peace, that his Majesty should not give any of the forfeited estates in property to any subject. But all to depend on the sovereign, right factors employed with power to grant long leasses, to use the people well, promote the industry and ever to plant colonys of old soldiers among them, and thereby make them taste the sweet of being free of tyrannicoll masters. And for promoting the scheme of erecting new parishes more speedily and with less expense to the government, I am persuaded if there was a free collection over all the nation for that purpose it would have the desired effect, and prove in time a means to civilize these people, as I have found by experience. As his Royal Highness has been our glorious deliverer by his valour and conduct, I hope by his prudent and wise direction he'l f[illegible] on proper methods to make these idle ignorant people useful subjects, which will make him famous to posterity, as it is easier to conquer than to civilize barbarous people.

I design soon to go north. If there's any thing wherein I can be in the least useful, if his Royal Highness honours me with his

1. For the transcript of this letter we are indebted to Jas. Macdonald, Esqr., W.S., Edinburgh.

commands they shall be chearfully obeyed. I hope you will be so good as to forgive this trouble, which use as you see proper, at least so as I told you here.

I have the honour to be with great respect, Sir, Your most obedient and most humble servant,

EDINBURGH, 2nd Sep., 1746. REAY.

No. 56. Excerpt TACK by the trustees of the deceased George, 3rd Lord Reay, to his son the Hon. Hugh Mackay of Bighouse, of the estate of Reay for fifteen years from Whitsunday, 1756:—

REAY PAPERS. It is contracted agreed and finally ended betwixt the parties after mentioned, viz., Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, Bart., John Hamilton of Bargeny, George MacKy of Skibo, David Ross of Inverhasley, and Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander MacKy, of Colonel Lambton's regiment, TRUSTEES named and appointed by the deceased George Lord Reay (with consent of Donald, now Lord Reay, his son) for managing the said George Lord Reay his estate and affairs after his decease, conform to a Trust Right & Disposition executed by the said George Lord Reay with consent of his son in favour of the now deceased Hugh Dalrymple of Drummore, one of the senators of the College of Justice and the forenamed persones his TRUSTEES (except the said Colonel Alexander MacKy), bearing date 1 Oct., 1741, and registrate in the Books of Session the 17 July, 1742; and another deed executed by the said late and present Lords of Reay 1 Nov., 1743, constituting and appointing the said Colonel Alexander MacKy (therein designated Captain Alexander MacKy of Strathtongue) a trustee for the purpose above mentioned along with the said other trustees OF THE ONE PART, and Hugh MacKy of Bighouse of the other part in manner following. That is to say,

Whereas by contract or tack bearing date 11 Oct., 3, and 16 Nov., 1743, entered into between the said deceased George Lord Reay with consent aforesaid, sett and in tack and assedation lett to the said Hugh MacKy, during the space for the tack duty and with and under the several provisions reservations and declarations therein written, All and haill the mansion house of Tongue with office-houses, gardens, parks, and enclosures thereto belonging, together with all and sundry the towns, lands, baronies, milns, teinds, woods, fishings, feu-duties and others with the pertinents therein specified all lying as therein mentioned By which tack it is expresely provided and declared that it should be in the power of the oldest son of the said Donald now Lord Reay, procreated betwixt him and Mrs. Marion Dalrymple his first lady, or the second son of the said marriage succeeding to the said lands and estate through his elder brother's demise, with the consent of the said trustees upon his attaining the age of 21 to take possession of the said mansion house and pertinents and the forsaid lands and estates into his own hands, and the said tack should from thenceforth cease and determine, and the said Hugh MacKy should be bound to remove therefrom upon the premonition of six months to be made to him in legal form. Lykeas by a subsequent tack bearing date 21 Oct., & 25 Nov., 1748, entered into betwixt the said trustees and Hugh MacKy, they (for the causes therein mentioned) not only ratified and approved of the forsaid tack granted by the said George Lord Reay and them to the said Hugh MacKy and declared the same binding upon all parties, but also, with and under the exceptions variations and provisions therein contained, did of new in coroboration of the said tack lett to the said Hugh MacKy during the space and for the tack duty therein mentioned the whole lands and estate and others set in lease to him by the tack above recited, as in and by the said two tacks reference being thereunto had will more fully and at length appear. And whereas it was provided by the forsaid tacks that upon George, now Master of Reay, eldest son of Donald Lord Reay, his attaining the age of 21

years, he the said George Master of Reay with consent of the said trustees might have resumed and taken into his own hands the whole premises sett by the tack above recited: and the said trustees and the said George Master of Reay by their sederunt bearing date 28 Aug., 1755, were of opinion it was proper a new lease should be granted to the said Hugh MacKy for 15 years from and after Whitsunday 1756, with a break as to the houses, gardens, parks, and Mains of Tongue, as mentioned in the said sederunt: and they recommended to Donald Lord Reay, John MacKy of Strathy, Robert MacKy of Islandhanda, John MacKy of Clashneach, and James MacKy of Skerray to take into their consideration the situation of the trust estate and state of affairs of the family of Reay. And they, having accordingly done the same, were of opinion that the granting of a new tack to the said Hugh MacKy of the lands estate and others above mentioned would tend to the utmost advantage of the family and estate, as the forsaid sederunt with the report of the said Donald Lord Reay and the other gentlemen above named insert in the sederunt books of the said trustees more fully reports: therefore in pursuance of the forsaid opinion and resolution the said trustees do hereby of new sett and in tack and assedation for the yearly tack duty and with and under provisions, exceptions, reservations, and declarations after written, sett to the said Hugh MacKy himself, secluding his heirs executors and assignies, ALL and HAILL the mansion house of Tongue with the office-houses, gardens, parks, and inclosures thereto belonging, together with all and sundry lands, baronies, towns, milns, multures, sucken, knaveships, and sequels thereof, salmon fishings of the waters of Hope, Laxford, and Polla, also the salmon fishings of the water of Kinloch, in so far as the deceased George Lord Reay had right thereto, As also the feu-duties of the estate of Strathy and Lower Hallowdale, the surplus wadsett and tack duties payable by William MacKy of Melness and John MacKy of Borgiemore or their successors in their tacks and wadsetts, and the vicarages of the parishes of Tounge, Durnes, and Edderachilis, which all pertained

and belonged to the said deceased George Lord Reay, lying within the parishes of Tounge, Durnes, Edderachilis, Farr, and Reay, and the sheriffdom of Sutherland, with the hall houses, biggings, corfhouses, cruives, parts, pendicles and universal pertinents thereto belonging, kains, customs, casualities, and services thereof of whatsoever kind payable for or furth of the lands, teinds, milns, fishings, and others aforsaid all lying as above mentioned. With liberty and power to the said Hugh MacKy during the continuance of this tack to keep as many fishing boats and to make kelp on any part of the said estate, and use as much ware for dunging the corn-lands as he and the tenants thereof shall think necessary; excepting and reserving always furth and from this tack the towns and lands of Balnakeil, Galduell, Idenfaret, Sangoes, Keinabein, Rispin, Islandhoan, Portchammul, Durin, Miln of Durness, multures, knaveships, sucken, and sequels thereof, both Ballvulichs, Knockbrenc, Keoldale, Sartigram, Polmore, Clashneach with Auldychladich, Borley, Slaness, Nuibeg, Achowmore with the mains, parks, and grazings thereof, viz., Shinnish, Firrach, and salmon fishing and other fishing on the water of Durnes, being a part of the barony of Durnes, all which is allocate to the said Donald Lord Reay and presently in his possession, and which he is entitled to during his lifetime for the support of himself and family[1] etc.

No. 57. A Description of the Reay estate by a valuator (name unknown), dated 1797:—

Reay Papers.

After giving a minute definition of the boundaries, it proceeds:—"What is called the Reay forest forms almost the centre of this great extent. It consists of mountains hills and precipices full of excellent

1. All the lands of the estate held in wadsett were excepted from this tack, as were also those directly occupied by Lord Reay

pasture, these mountains appearing green up to their very tops. As they are dry and well sheltered they must be particularly adapted for sheep. There are at present in the forest about 1600 deer. These are shot and hunted down by the foresters and people in the neighbourhood for their own use, except such as are sent at times to the factor and his friends and to others who choose to call for them. The appearance of the estate is altogether mountainous with great promontories going into the sea, such as Cape Wrath, the Whitten Crail, and Farrethead. The places of Glencoui and Glendow at the head of Kylescoue have in their appearance a wild and savage beauty that is not possible for any person to conceive that has not seen them. Indeed the parish of Edrachilis has all much the same look. Durness is a dry pretty spot; the soil sandy, well peopled for its extent. It lies upon a bed of limestone which is here found in the greatest abundance. It is considered the best grass and pasture ground in the north of Scotland, and it was of old the Bishop of Caithness' shealing or pasture farm. The parish of Tongue is of the three parishes the most habitable, and in which there is the most arable ground. It is likewise the most accessible, there being a road from the parish of Farr, to the east of it, to the Mansion House of Tongue. There is at the north end of Loch Loyal, a little above the beach, a most beautiful romantic situation for a sporting house or quarters. It has the loch in front, four great hills rising above the loch, one of them full of birch-wood, rising like an amphitheatre with the green top of the mountain above it.

"The rent of the estate of Reay a few years ago was only £1297. The principal tacksmen or leaseholders of it are, first, George MacKay of Bighouse. His father Robert MacKay granted about 50 years ago to Lord Reay a bond for £500 at 5 per centum, he at the same time got possession as a tenant of a great part of the parish of Edrachilis, including Scouric the principal place in it, where he lived. It was stipulated between him and Lord Reay that he should have possession of these lands as long as his bond for £500 remained

unpaid, but that as soon as it was paid up a lease should then commence for 19 years of these lands. This lease might not have commenced yet but for the dispute which arose in the year 1786 between General Alexander MacKay and the present Bighouse, about cutting wood on the grounds of this lease. Bighouse disputed Lord Reay's right to cut the wood, at which the general was so displeased that he offered him payment of the £500 bond and obliged his lease to commence at, I think, Whitsunday 1787.

"William Munro of Achany has a lease of Auldinrinnie in the same parish for much the same duration. By it he is allowed £5 yearly for taking care of that part of the forest. This gives him a privilege to shoot deer with his friends. Bighouse has a privilege of the same nature to the extent, I think, of 12 deer yearly.

"Mrs. Macleod, widow of Roderick Macleod from the Isle of Skye, has a lease of Balnakiel, the principal place and farm in the parish of Durness, and indeed the best farm not only of the estate of Reay, but perhaps in the north. She has it for about 19 years from Whitsunday 1788 or 89. Donald Lord Reay lived here, and there is on it a good large mansion house.

"James Anderson and John and Thomas Arbuthnot, of Peterhead, have a lease of the fishings and kelp-shores of the estate for 4 nineteen years from Whit. 1789. I think there is a break (as it is called) in this lease at the end of the first 30 years, Lord Reay paying them the expenses they may have been at in building houses, piers, and other accomodations; a good deal of which they have done.

"Donald Forbes has a lease of Oldshoars in the parish of Edrachilis for 19 years, of much the same duration as those mentioned. He wished to get a lease at the same time of Rehisell, where his mother lives. It was I believe drawn out, at least in scroll, but never signed.

"Donald MacKay has a lease of Eriboll, parish of Durness, for I believe somewhat more than 19 years from much about the same date

with the rest—his rent rises progressively as a certain number of years in his lease elapses. I think his is the only lease on the estate that does so.

"John Scobie has a lease of 31 years of Melness, granted by the late Hon. Mr. Mackay about the year 1775. He was obliged to build a good house there and to enclose it, which was done.

"James MacKay of Skerray is the only wadsetter residing in the country. His wadset consists of about £400 infefted on the lands of Ribigill. He is allowed to retain the rent of Skerray, where he lives, for the rent he should receive from Ribigill; and he got before General MacKay's death a lease of Skerray and some places near it, I believe, the same as the rest got.

"The services on the farm of Tongue were converted in the year 1789—their value came to about £30. The tenants who formerly performed these services paid these £30 yearly to the person who farmed Tongue, who only himself paid £30: so that he paid no rent for it in a manner, unless he gave credit for the £30 in his account.

"The estate of Reay may be equal in extent to the county of Fife, or any of the Lothians. It is very compact considering its great extent, no other estate interfering with it, and its marches are well and neatly ascertained by the sea, the sea-loch of Kylscow, the great mountain of Ben Hee, Loch Loyal, and the water of Torrisdale. It may well be called one of the great estates of Scotland: and if the present lord lives to the age of his father or grandfather he may in the course of his life bring it to £5000 yearly rent, and at the same time have the satisfaction to see his tenants live happily enjoying plenty, the natural fruits of honest industry."

No. 58. List of PROPOSED ROADS in the four northern counties of Scotland surveyed by George Brown, under the direction of the

commander-in-chief in North Britain, with estimated cost—survey made 1790-99 :—

REAY PAPERS.

1790	Dingwall to Ullapool	£7,825	19	[illegible]
„	Ullapool to Portnaleek Ferry	4,622	15	[illegible]
„	Portnaleek to Dingwall	2,106	2	
1792	Inverness to Bernera Barracks, Kyle-rea, by the north side of Lochness and Glenmoriston	9,493	3	[illegible]
„	Fort William to Pitnain in Badenoch	6,700	19	9
1793	Dingwall to Polewe	7,388	14	4
„	Invermoriston to Fort-Augustus	307	18	4
„	Strome upon Lochearron to Auchensheen	3,943	15	6
„	Lochinver to Portinleik	6,039	10	2
1794	Culrain to Tongue	5,373	5	5
„	Scoury to Lairg	4,429	11	10
„	Tongue to the kirk of Farr	1,258	6	8
„	Kirk of Farr to the head of Lochnaver, at Inver-bagistie	2,800	5	10
„	Burigill on Inver-bagistie to Helmsdale	3,796	0	9
1795	Culrain by Strath-flete to Dunbeath	7,789	13	1
„	Beauly to Loch Duich	7,882	19	0
1796	Fort-William by Loch Ell to Loch na Gaull	6,436	10	0
„	Loch Nevish to Auchnacarry	5,882	16	2
„	From the road joining Fort-Augustus and Fort-William, at the head of Loch Lochy, to Kilmallie	3,092	4	0
1797	Kirk of Farr to Thurso	4,485	17	3
„	Thurso by Mybster to Dunbeath	3,774	18	4
„	Portinleek to Tain	1,528	7	0
1798	Culrain through the interior of Sutherland to Rumsdale, on Strathmore, in Caithness	9,613	1	10
„	Kirk of Durness to Mudale	6,968	12	0
„	Wick to John O'Groats	2,192	2	6
„	John O'Groats to Thurso	1,759	10	6
1799	Kyle head near Barners, through Sky to Dunvegan	15,220	10	0
„	Thurso to Wick	3,393	0	0
„	Thurso to Rumsdale to join the Portnaleik Road	4,907	15	10
	Total[1]	£151,014	4	11

1. Many of the roads were not formed for a considerable number of years after the survey. For instance, the road from Durness to Mudale was begun in 1825, while that from the kirk of Farr to the head of Lochnaver was under construction sometime between 1850-60. And one at least of the surveyed roads was never constructed, viz., that from Portinleik to Rumsdale in Caithness.

No. 59. LETTER by Caroline, widow of Captain John Mackay of Skerray, to Eric, 7th Lord Reay, dated 24 Feb., 1817:—

REAY PAPERS.

My Lord, I am under the necessity of troubling your Lordship once more regarding the small heritable bond that falls to my family upon the Reay estate. Curators are now procured for my son James by all the necessary forms of law, and at a court at Kirkiboll some weeks ago Captain MacKay John Scobie, and the Rev. Mr Hugh MacKy MacKenzie were appointed. I trust therefore your Lordship will have the goodness to order your agent at Edinburgh to have the amount of the bond ready for the curators, who must immediately draw for it from the pressing state of my credit.

I do not wish to trouble your Lordship with a long account of my complicated distresses since I did myself the honour of addressing you before, but between family affliction and bank expenses few had such reason to be distressed in mind and encumbered in circumstances as I have.

In April last my late worthy son Hugh departed this life at Sutherland upon his way home from college, and it being his dying request to have his body carried over to this country it was attended to with the greatest Highland enthusiasm. In less than six months after, my dear Isabella died likewise, who never recovered his death. But I must have done and beg your Lordship pardon for indulging my feelings so much, but I had no less than three promising children taken from me in less than two years' time, and I doubt not but one of your Lordship's humanity will forgive me. With great reluctance I must now return to my subject, as matters in this weary world must be attended to, while in it. By a letter from the gentlemen that act for me there I find that your Lordship's agent there proposes keeping from me £28 of the amount mentioned in the bond, from the circumstances of your late honl. father's wadsetts being overburdened that much; but I cannot think that your Lordship will allow that loss fall upon me as I can but ill afford it. If, therefore, the above

sum is kept from me at Edinburgh I trust Mr Anderson will be ordered to give me credit for it in my rent, as surely the whole amount in the bond was given.

CAROLINE MACKAY.

Skerray 24 Feb., 1817.

No. 60. Excerpt of LETTER of Mr Pat. Sellar, sheepfarmer, to Lord Reay—regarding the evictions, dated 1 May, 1819:—

REAY PAPERS.

My Lord, Sometime ago your Lordship's brother wrote me that Mr Forbes had not removed one of his subtenants, whom as dependents or servants he keeps doing mischief and ploughing in the winter land of Ben Hope—a thing which in the face of his written promise to your Lordship I thought very surprising. I saw Mr Forbes soon after, and was assured by him they should all quit along with himself at Whitsunday 1820 and leave the ground unploughed. But to my great surprise I received a letter from him again on the 16 Apr. in quite a different strain, maintaining that he would plough and keep undertenants as he pleased. Now my Lord that misunderstanding may possibly arise between your Lordship and by silence, as was the case with Mr Houston, I give your Lordsh timely notice of all this to intimate that if the *banditti* presently kept on Ben Hope farm are to have possession until Whitsunday 1821, on the pretext that they have ploughed 1820 and must consume their straw on the ground up to Whitsunday 1821, and if there be of consequence no access for flocks to the safe and peaceable use of the wintering, then I cannot enter into possession at Whit. 1820, as was intended by the missives entered into betwixt your Lordship and me, on such stormy ground without the wintering, for with flocks mixed among sheep-stealers and their dogs no stockman could calculate on possessing the farm. If I can get access I will in 1820 follow up my

plan, and if I cannot I will put Strathnaver[1] under cheviot stock under a different arrangement, &c.

PAT. SELLAR.

No. 61. REPORT of the Tongue and Durness ground officers 18 June, 1819—regarding the sub-tenants on Major Forbes' farms of Kinloch and Ben Hope:—

REAY PAPERS.

We the ground officers of the parishes of Tongue and Durness, having inspected Major Forbes' farm of Kinloch and Ben Hope in order to ascertain the number of sub-tenants, cottars, and settlers thereon, report as follows:—

STRATHMORE DISTRICT. Visited Blaid and found Alex. Morison upon the winter lands. Said Morison herds cattle for Major Forbes, has two acres of land for potatoes and corn in lieu of wages, and 2½ bolls of meal and two cows' grazing. He is under orders to quit it at Whit. next without a crop.

Visited Cranich and found James Campbell, John MacIntosh, and Robert MacPherson upon the winter land. James Campbell has six of a family including four children. John MacIntosh has three of a family including one child. Robert MacPherson has four of a family and two children. Each of the said men has two acres of corn land and potato land, two cows' grazing in lieu of wages; ground under crop at present, but are under orders to quit at Whit. next without a crop. All herd cattle for Major Forbes.

Visited Dalduin or Dornilla and found Angus Calder upon the

1. On the strath of the Naver Mr. Sellar had already smoked out the inhabitants as we showed at page 231, but mercifully he failed to effect an arrangement with Lord Reay, and thus the *banditti* of the Reay estate escaped the application of the torch.

A little later when his Lordship was making arrangements for the sale of the estate he wrote to his friend, W. J. Denison, Esqr., M.P., a letter dated 17 Aug., 1828, in which Reay referred to his smaller tenants as follows: "The small rents have upon the whole been well paid, perhaps better than any other of this class of tenants in Scotland. . . . I feel confident . . . . they only require a little support to make them the most valuable class upon the estate." *Reay Papers.*

winter land with seven of a family including children. Said Calder herds cattle for Major Forbes, has six acres of corn and potato land in lieu of wages under crop at present, but is under orders to quit at Whit. next without a crop.

Visited John MacKy in Aultnacailich and found him on the winter land with eight of a family including children. Said MacKy herds cattle to Major Forbes, has six acres of land for corn and potatoes in lieu of wages under crop at present, but is under orders to quit next Whit. without a crop.

Visited Musel and found widow MacKenzie upon the winter land with seven of a family including children. Said widow herds cattle to Major Forbes, has two acres of land for corn and potatoes in lieu of wages, ground under crop at present, but under orders to quit at Whit. next without crop.

Hope District. Visited Hope and found James Macky upon the winter land with five of a family including children. Said Macky herds cattle for Major Forbes, has two acres of land for corn and potatoes in lieu of wages under crop at present, but under orders to quit at Whit. next without crop. Visited Hope and found George Macky's land under crop, say one acre—terms not known, but not in the capacity of servant.

Visited Fresgill and found John and Duncan Munro upon the winter lands with three of a family each. Said Munros herd cattle for Major Forbes, have two acres of land each for corn and potatoes in lieu of wages under crop at present, but under orders to quit.

Kinloch District. Visited Unstepan and found John Ross, Malcolm Ross, and George Ross, three grown up men, upon the winter land.

Visited Totag and found John Sutherland and Murdo Macky, his son-in-law, upon the winter land in one family six in number including children. Said men herd goats for Major Forbes, and have the whole pendicle under crop in lieu of wages.

Visited Bowerscaig and found Donald Oag and Donald Munro

upon the winter land, the former having five of a family and the latter six. Said men herd cattle for Major Forbes and have the whole pendicle under crop. Also found upon the winter land of Bowers aig Hugh MacKy with three of a family. He is a cottar to Major Forbes, and has some new land under crop.

There are upon the Ben Hope side of farm 4 shepherds & 1 foxer, and on the Kinloch side 2 shepherds, making a total of 16 herds or cottars, 6 shepherds, and 1 foxer.

JOHN MACKAY, Tongue.

Angus Sutherland, Durness.

No. 62. Excerpt DISPOSITION of SALE of the Reay estate by Lord Reay to the Marquis of Stafford, afterwards 1st Duke of Sutherland, for the sum of £300,000 stg., dated 15 May, 1829:—

REAY PAPERS.

Be it known to all men by these presents that I, the Rt. Hon. Eric Lord Reay, heritable proprietor of the lands and others underwritten, in consideration of the sum of £300,000 stg. instantly advanced and paid by the Most Noble George Granville, Marquis of the county of Stafford, as the agreed on value and price of the said lands and others, of which sum I hereby acknowledge the receipt renouncing all objections to the contrary and discharge the said Marquis his heirs executors and successors thereof for ever, Have sold alienated and disponed, as I the said Eric Lord Reay do hereby sell alienate and dispone, to and in favour of the said George Granville, Marquis of the county of Stafford, his heirs and assignees whatsoever heritably and irredeemably, All and sundry the lands, mills, fishings, teind sheaves, and others after specified comprehending and constituting the whole estate and country of Reay, and the whole of the lands and heritages belonging to me, lying in the county of Sutherland or in the county of Caithness, as hereafter mentioned.

viz. All and haill the town and lands of Ribigill miln and milnlands thereof, Keanlochmore, Keanlochbeg, Mussel, Dalkeapach, Handryr, Arnaboll, and the salmond fishings upon the water of Dritary, Hunloum miln and milnlands, Eriboll, Strathbeg, Yslandchoirie, Houp and salmond fishing thereof, the forest and forest-lands of Diriemore and the forest towns of Auldinrinie and Loan, and salmond fishing thereof upon the water of Garvrone, Ardbeg, Ardmore, Keanlochbervie, Alchourbeg, Alschourmore, Carnmanoch, Sandwood, Kearvag, Havesh, Keoldale and salmond fishings in the water of Duirness and cruives thereof, Crangillich, Borlie, Slamaness, Balnakill, Farret, Gavel, Crossbell, Balnamulick, Sandgayes, Ylandhoan, Rispyne, Fraskill, Strathmelness, Melness miln and milnlands of the same, Ylandgyle, Scrolumy, Strathtongue, Cauldabacklie, Tongue miln and milnlands thereof, Kirkaboll, Scrabuster, Kinnisaide, Releyden, Oldlangwart, Torrantarrow, Lettermore, Borgiemore, Torrisdale, Skerra, Ylandroyan and Ylandcolme, as also All and haill the lands of Ederachilis with the pertinents thereof, viz., the lands of Fenziedailles, Laxfurd with the salmond fishing of the same, Scouriebeg, Scouriemore, Caldstroam, and the island of Handa, with the teind sheaves of all and sundry the forsaid lands and barony of Ardurness pertaining and belonging thereto, viz., of All and haill the lands of Galdwell, Kialdale, Cranengaele, Gerrongarve, Terragavish, Carnmanoch, Borley, Slanes, and the salmond fishing upon the water of Avongarrone and Sandwood, and the salmond fishing upon the water of Ardurness, and the fishing of cruives thereof whatsoever, with the miln and multures of the same, as also of the island of Hoa and other islands there, with the seaports of all and sundry the lands and others above written and all other fishings of the same as well in fresh as in salt water, as also of the lands of Sandwood, Alshourbeg, Alshourmore, with all and sundry towers, fortalices, manor places, etc. . . . .

At Westminster the fifteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord

one thousand eight hundred twenty and nine years in presence of these witnesses, James Loch, of Bloomsbury Square in the county of Middlesex, Esqr., and Member of Parliament: John Spottiswoode Esqr. of Spottiswoode, and of Great George Street in the City and Liberties of Westminster; David Robertson of Golden Square in the county of Middlesex, Esqr.; and the said William MacKenzie, the place and date of subscription and names and designations of the witnesses being inserted in the handwriting of the said William MacKenzie.

No. 63. Judicial Rent-Roll of the Reay estate given in merks as led in a process of law, dated March, 1678:—

REAY PAPERS.

Mowdaill. Hutcheon M'Ky, 100; William m'alister, 50; John M'Ky, 50.

Gnubeg. John m'allen, 100; Henry m'Coineal, 30.

Gnubmore. Angus m'cremel, 38; Finlay m'ferqr, 38; Murdo m'ferqr, 58; Neill m'rorie, 25.

Dinachtorie. Donald m'Angus, 20.

Seir. William moir, 42; John m'Angus vic Curchie, 21; Thoma m'Angus, 21; Finlay m'Angus vic Homas, 21.

Langwell. Agnes nin duii, 21; John m'alister vic coin, 20; Rurie Mand, 22; Margaret nyin Phaill, 11; Murdo miller, 11.

Skeall. Gilliphadrighe in Ceanroyin, 20; Donald m'gilliphadrick in do., 10; Donald Ruyyr in do., 10; William m'ean Scheill, 15; John M'Rorie na beyin, 21; John Roy, 31; Mary nyin Wm. vic angus, 6; Alex. Clark, 20; Angus Clark, 20.

Skelpaik. Angus neilson, 50; Rorie M'Ky, 30; John more, 9; Thomas M'Ky, 20.

RAVIGILL. William Munro, 200.

AUCHKYLNABORGIE. Hutcheon Munro, 50; James Murray, 10; John Glass, 10.

CARNACHIE. Angus Gunns, 20; Henry Angus vic Hormat, 20; William vic Angus vic William, 60; Neill m'Finlay, 50; Angus m'mu, 20.

INVERNAVER. Donald Munro, 80; Ferqr m'James, 40; Hutcheon m'Ferqr, 20; James Gordon, 20; Rorie m'Finla, 40.

BORGIEBEG. Alexr. Cealan, 50; William m'Curchie moir, 50; Angus m'William vic Rorie, 20.

RINSVIE. George Munro, 150.

TORRISDAILL. Hector Munro, elder, 75; Hector Munro, yr., 100; Finlay dow, 37; Hugh Munro, ; Murdo dow, 6.

BORGIEMORE. Charles M'Ky of, 200.

AUCHNISKICH. Donald m'Phaill, 40; William m'Coill, 50; Andrew Munro, 40; Angus Coupar, 36; Angus m'ean duii, 25; John m'Angus, 25; John m'coinill reoch, 25; John m'Phaill, 25.

REINCHATTELL. William Buye, 25; Alex. m'even, 6; David Ross, 25; Donald M'Lean, 12; Neill m'rorie vic angus vic Rorie, 12.

CLACHAN. Alexander miller, 4.

CRASK. William m'Neill, 40; Donald M'Ky, 40.

SINACHU. Angus m'Conil vic alister, 80; Angus m'Finlay, 13; Alexander m'Finlay, 37; Donald m'Alister, 37.

DIBCORAN. John M'Ky, 37; Alex. m'Conill, 50; Donald m'ean 15; Thomas m'alister, 12.

ARDBEG. William m'Curchie, miller, 12; William m'ean vic Conill, 12; John m'ean roy, 12; Wm. m'ean vic conill, 12.

SWARDALLIE. Ago Coupar, 80; Donald m'Callan, 10; John m'neill, 12.

KIRKTON. John m'ean vic conill, 6; Patrick moir, 6; Murdo miller, 12; William m'ewin, 12; John m'angus vic ean, 12;

John Toshach, 25.

SKERRA. Patrick Gun, 25; Angus m'Cormal, 6; John Balfour, 6; John m'ean, 6; William m'ean, 6; John m'ean vic Curchie, 25; John m'Curchie Ca' ill, 25; John m'Curchie Cormal, 25; Angus m'finlay, 25.

SKURLMY. Donald M'Ky of, 120.

CALTNBACKIE. John m William vic can, 25; William vic Conail vic Finlay, 18; Rorie Gun, 25; Donald Baine, 18; William m'rorie, 25; Angus m'james, 25.

STRATHANHUNG. John Naverach, elder, 50; John Naverach, yr., 25; Neill Naverach, 25.

RHIHUNG. Alex. Roy, 25; John m'rorie vic Hamish, 25.

TUNG. Hector M'Ky, 75; Neill gow, 12; J hn M'Kynich, 6; John m'rorie moir, 6; Thomas Steivin, 6; Hugh Gow, 6; Donald m'Gilbert, 12; John roy greasich, 25; Angus m'rorie moir, 25.

KENLOCH. Donald Clark, 25; William Clark, 80; Finlay m'Conill, 25; John m'Conill, 12; Donald beg Clark, 25; Angus Clark, 25; John Down, 25; Murdo m'Homas, 25.

HOPE. Donald M'Ky, 50; John m'ean vic ean, 50; William vic ean vic ean, 25; William m'ean vic curchie, 25.

FROSKILL. Neil m'homash, 25; John weaver, 25; Thomas weaver, 25.

STRATHANMELNES. Hector m'angus vic allan, 80; Margaret M'Leod, 80; John M'Ky, 100.

AUCHNAHOW. William m'Curchie vic Conill, 45.

BALMENACH. Hutcheon Baxter, 6; Murdo m'ean voir, 6; Donald m'Phaill, 6; Tom m'rorie, 12.

BALLEVULLICH. Tom Bayne, 50; John Bayne, 50; Neill Bayne, 25.

CROSPUYLL. Hugh m'James, 25; Angus m'Conill, 20.

KNOCKBRECK. Neil Morisone, 50; John oig, 30.

SLAINES. William M'Ky of, 100.

DURNESS. Mr. Hugh Munro, minister of, 100.

RISPIN. Angus m'Conill vic Angus, 50.

KENABIN. Christopher m'ean vic William moir, 25; Alex. marechter, 25.

LOCHSTUMIE. Angus m'Conill vic Angus, 25.

PORTCAMMILL. William roy m'William vic Angus, 12.

KEDALL. Angus oig, 12; Donald og, 20; Angus Bayne, 20; John m'Angus, 20; John m'rorie, 20; Andrew m'ean vic finlay, 20; Murdo beg, 12; Donald m'Conill vic Ago, 12; Angus m'Conill vic ean, 12.

ALSHEORMORE. Hugh M'Ky, 20; Hugh m'Connil vic allen, 20; Effie Monro, 12.

KEANLOCHBERVIE. William roy m'ewen vic Angus, 20; Donald og, 20; John m'Homas vic Conill reach, 12; John m'neil og, 12.

ARDACHIE. Brian roy, 50; John m'rorie, 30; Donald m'ean vic rorie, 30; John Ste, hen, 25; Donald beg m'rorie, 25.

ACHASTELL. Angus m'rorie, 12; John miller, 16.

SCRABUSTER. Alexander roy, 25; Alexander m'Eone, 25; John m'Conill vic ean, 37.

KIRKIBOLL. Neil M'Leod, 100.

KINSADE. Angus m'ean, 50; Donald M'Le , J.

LETTERMOIR. John Munro, 100; Donald M'Leod, 50; Alex. m'Curichie, 62; Alex. m'Angie vic Allen, 50; Neil m'conill vic Angus, 25.

TORRANDARROW. John m'Angus vic Allen, 75; John m'Curchie vic ean voir, 37.

ACHOWLOGART. Neil m'Angus vic Allen, 75.

RHEANLEADAIN. Rorie Mand, 50; Donald m'Conill vic Angus, 25; Alexander m'alister, 18.

RHIAN-INNERIM. Hugh m'Angus vic allan, 50.

FALLISADE. Paul m'ean vic conill, 50.

ISLAND CHOARY. Hector M'Leod, 40; Hector m'Conill, 40.

ERIBOLL. Hector m'Phadrick, 37; Angus m'Curchie, 12; Ewin gow, 12; John Baine, 6; John roy, 6.

HUMLEM. John m'hormal vic alister, 25; Angus mac an teir ; Hugh m'can vic Curchie, 16; John m'Conil vic Angus, 16.

ARNABOLL. Tormac Fletcher, 40; Donald m'Conil vic Gilbert, 30.

MUSSALL. Rorie m'can vic Conil vic Finla, 50; Donald m'can vic Conl., 50.

BLAAD. Thomas M'Ky, 40; Neil m'Curchie vic Angus, 4.

John m'Henrick taxman of the water of Duriness, 250.
Donald M'Ky taxman of the water of Hope, 400.
John Lord Reay, 1000.
Angus M'Ky of Melness, 300.
Angus M'Ky of Ribigill, 200.
Hugh M'Ky of Skinnet, 150.

No. 64. Judicial RENT-RO of the Reay estate as taken before Mr , sheriff-substitute of the country of Strathnaver, Dec., 1789:—

FAY PAPERS.

BORGIEMORE. John M'Kay, £13 10; do. for rent of mill, £3; Wm. Mackay, £2 3 9; Neil More, £1 1 10; Donald Mackay's widow, £3 5 7; Wm. MacAgon, £2 3 9.

TORRISDALE. Angus M'Askile's widow, £1 13 9; Wm. Campbell, £1 2 6; Alex. Suthd., £1 2 6; Hugh M'Kay, £1 11 3; James M'Rory, £1 0 10; Wm. M'Amish, £1 6; Hugh Morison, £2 11 3; Angus Bain, £2 2 7; Wm. Edies' widow, £1 3 1; Dond. M'Rob, £2 10; Thos. Mackay, £1 11 10; Wm. M'Eachan, £1 10 7; Dond. M'Iye, £1 2 10; James Mackay of Skerray, £5 8 4.

AUCHTOUTY. James Mackay of Skerray £2 2 9.

CLASHADIE. James Mackay of Skerray, £5 17.

SKERRAY. James Mackay of, for vicarage of Stranskerray etc., £2; do. for Skerray exclusive of wadset, £8 1; do. for rent of Lamigo mill, £3.

ISLANDNAROAN. Wm. Mackay, 17 9; Geo. Mackay, 17 9; Wm. M'Connash, 17 9; Neil M'Kenzie, 17 9.

SCURLOMY. Dond. H'Amish, £1 17 6; Hector Suthd., £1 17 6; Hector Roy, £1 17 6; Robert Stirling, £1 5; Hector Munro's widow, £1 5; Geo. Mackay, £1 17 6; Robert Munro, £1 5.

RHIANS of do. Alexr. Coardach, £1 7 6; Dond. Mackay, £1 7 6.

COLDIBACKY. Wm. Mackay, £1 15 2; Hugh Charleson, £1 8 1; Walter M'Rory, £1 8 1; John Mackay, £1 8 1; Hugh Coardach, £1 8 1; Wm. Coardach, £1 1 1; John M'Curchie, £1 8 1; Geo. More, £1 8 1.

BLANDYMORE. Angus dow, £1 17 6.

BLANDYBEG. George M'Leod, £1 5.

STRATHTONGUE. Alex. Clerk, £1 17 6; Dan. Reid, £1 17 6.

DALCHARN. Alex. Mackay, £2 17 6; Dond. M'Rory, £2 17 6.

RHIETONGUE. Dond. More & son, £1 17 6; Andrew Ross, £1 5; Charles Morison, £1 5; Hugh M'Leod, £1 5.

BLARMORE. Robt. Buie, £1 2 3; Alex. Bain, £1 6 3.

TONGUE & BRAETONGUE. Geo. Mackay of Bighouse, £29.

HORSEPARK. do. do., 16 8.

DRIMINRINY. do. do., 13 7.

KIRKIBOLL. Mr W. Mackenzie, mnr., £4 9 6; Wm. Mackay, £11 12 2; Hugh M'Leod, 11 2; Geo. Mackay, £1 2 4; Angus Munro, £1 2 4.

INCHVERRY. John Gordon, £2 10.

DHINNISHAID. Mr W. Mackenzie, mnr., £1 10.

SCRABSTIR. Dond. Ross, £2 17 6; James Suthd., £1 3 2; Wm. M'phadrick, £1 14 9; Wm. M'Rory, £2 6 8; Wm. Graisich, £1 14 9; John M'Alister, £1 3 2.

FALISHAID. Alex. Grant, £6 10.

RHIEDORCH. Dond. Oag, £2 2.

KINDSIDE. Dond. Mackay, £9.

RHIELAIDAN. John Mackay, £2 17 2; Angus M'Omash, £1 8 7; John M'Cutcheon, £1 8 7; Wm. Graisich, £2 17 2; Dond. M'Neil, £2 17 2.

AULDLUART. Dond. Munro, £5 4 5.

TORNTARFF. Dond. M'Leod's widow, £4 10; Neil Gun £2 5; Iye Campbell, £2 5.

LETTERMORE. Wm. M'Cutchion, £8 15 4; John Mackay, £4 13 10; John Gordon, £7 0 10; Hugh Mackay, £5 9; Murd. Mackay, £3 10 1.

CULISHAID. Rob M'Donald, £1 17 1.

DINNACHCORRY. John Mackay's widow, £3 2.

RHIANS. Rob. Mackay, miller, £2 18 10; do. for mill rent, £16; Neil M'Angus, 11 9.

ACHAISTLE. Wm. Bain, £1 2 2.

BLARDOW. Alex. Macleod, 8 .

RIBIGILL &c. Dond. Forbes, £45 14 10.

KINLOCHMORE. Angus M'Rob, £8; Peter Clark, £2.

KINLOCHBEG. Angus Mackay, £1 11 1; Dond. M'Leod's widow, 15 6; Wm. Roy, £1 11 1; Geo. M'Rob's widow, £1 0 9; Wm. Gun, £1 5 11.

ACHORKERY. Hugh Mackay, £1 6 8; John Mackay, £1 6 8; John Miller, £1 6 8.

ACHTRAAN. George M'Kenzie's widow, £4.

UNSTEPHAN. Robert Clerk, £3.

MELNESS. &c. Lieut. John Scolie, £33 10.

SKINET. Elispale Morison, 12/6; Hugh Mackay, £1 1 10; Neil Aberach, 18/9; James Gun, 12/6; John Gordon, catechist, 12/6; Hugh Aberach's widow, 12/6; Hugh Gun, 6/3; Rob. M'Hugh, 6/3; Geo. Gun, 18/9; Hugh M'Rob, £1 5; Colin Munro, 9/4; John Gordon, jr., boatman, £1 5; Rob. Gun, £1 5; Wm. Gun, £1 5; Rob. M'Ean's widow, 12/6; Hugh

Gun, £1 5; John Gordon, snr., boatman, 12 6; Rob. Morison, 12/6; Iye Mackay, £1 5; Geo. Aberach, 18/9; Dond. Mackay, 12 6.

ACHNAHOW. Wm. Suthd., £1 17 6.

STRATHMELNESS. John Mackay, £21 10.

FRESGILL. Angus Munro, £2; Geo. Suthd., £2; Geo. M'Kay, £1 6 8; John Munro, 13/4; Dond. Suthd., £2.

HOPE & INVERHOPE. Don. M'Kay, £8 16 9; Dond. M'Leod, 18/7; James M'Kay, 18/7; Rob. M'Kay, £1 17 2; Dod. M'Kay, 16/4; Ann Rose, 16/4; Dond. M'Rob, 13/11.

BADILHAVISH. Murd. M'Kay, miller, £3 4; do. for mill rent, £10 2 6.

ARNABOLL. James M'Kay, £1 15 7; Hugh M,Intosh, £1 15 7; Neil M'Kay, £1 6 3; Hugh M'Ean's widow, £2 3 10.

HUILEAM. James Mackay, £2 18 3; Geo. Mackay, £2 9 11; Geo. M'Cutchion, £1 5; Murd. Mackay, £2 1 7; James Mackenzie, £2 1 7; Hugh Hughson, £1 13 3; Alex. Mackenzie, £1 13 3.

ACHLOCHY. John Mackay, £2 4 2.

BREGISGILL. James Mackay of Skerray, £3 16 8.

ERIBOLL &c. Dond. Mackay, £44 15 2.

BADVOER. John Mackenzie, £4.

BADNAHACHLASH. Hugh Mackay, £1 15 6.

MUSSEL. Hugh Mackay, £1 15 10; Angus Mackay's widow, £1 15 10; Dond. Mackay, £1 3 11; John Mackenzie, £1 3 11; John Edgar, £1 :

CALDER-ROY. Hugh Mackenzie, £1.

DALNAHOW. John Mackenzie, £1 12 6; Dond. M'Leod, 10/10.

AULDNACAILLICH. Rob. Reavach, £1 10 2; Dond. Mackay, £1 17 9; John Bain, £1 2 7.

LUBVAIN. Murd. Done, 17/.

STRATHMORE. Geo. Morison, £2 15 10; Angus Roy, £1 19 2; Angus M'Kay, 18/4; John Mackay, 18/4; Hugh M'Angus,

18 4; Murd. Bain, 18 4; Angus Oag, 18 4; Rob. M'pherson, 9 2; James M'Kenzie's widow, 9 2.

MERKAN. Lieut. John Scobie, Melness, £10 10.

KEOLDALE &c. James Anderson, £36 13 6.

CLASHNEACH. James Clerk's widow, £14 14 5.

BORLEY. John Mackay, £4 16 6.

UIEBEG. Rob. Mackay, £4 6 11; Dond. MacCormaid, £1 13 8; Alex. Campbell, £1 6 11; Dond. Mackay, £1 0 3; John M'Ean, £1 6 11; Dond. Ross, £1 6 11; Lexy Fraser, £1 6 11.

CRAGGYWILLIN. Alex. Campbell, miller, £1 5 6; do. for mill rent, £15.

KNOCKBREACK. Rob. Morison, £1 18 4; Dond. Mackay, £1 18 4; Dond. Morison, £1 18 4; Mr. John Thomson, mnr., excl. of glebe, £3 18 10.

BALVULICHBEG. Geo. Grange, £1 0 10; Angus Campbell, 15 7; Dond. M'Alister, 10 7; Chas. Campbell, £1 13 8; John M'Leod, £2 0 5; Mary Murray, 13 5; Dond. Sutherland, £1 6 11; Iye Grange, £1 6 11; Alex. Pape, £1 0 2; Wm. M'Custan, 6 9; Hugh Grange, £1 0 2; Angus M'Leod, 6 9; Wm. M'Neil, £1 6 11; John M'Intosh 13 6.

SANGO. Rob. Mackay, merchant, Glasgow, £10 11 10.

ACHNAHANAID. Wm. Mackay, £1 18 7; John Bain, £1 5 8; John M'Kenzie, £1 5 8; Iye M'Comish's widow, 6 5; Alex. Beg's widow, 6 5.

ACHUMORE. Dond. Mackay, £1 11 3; John M'Pherson, £1 5; John M'Rory, 18 9.

AULDANDIRG. Dond. Mackay, £1 2 2.

BALNAKEIL &c. Rod. M'Leod, £133 2 9.

PORTCHAMIL &c. Dond. Mackay, Eriboll, £16 12 2.

RISPOND. The Fishing Co., £13 3 7.

SCOURY &c. George Mackay of Bighouse, £118 13 10.

PHILLINBEG. Mrs. Mackay of Auldany, £4.

GLENCOUL. Hugh M'Leod, £9.
WEST KYLESTROM. Hugh Mackay, £30.
EAST. do. The Fishing Co., £39 5 11.
DUARDMORE. David Nicol, 14.
DUARDBEG. Alex. Mackay, £9.
AULDRING &c. Wm. Munro of Achany, £35.
BADCAUL. Mr. Alex. Falconer, mnr., excl. of glebe, £5 11.
OLDSHOARES. Dond. Forbes, Ribigill, £56 14 4.

Salmon Fishing of Hope Water, £22 4.
Salmon Fishing of Durness Water, £11 2 2.
Salmon Fishing of Laxford Water, £16 13 4.
Kelp shores of the estate, £44.
Feu duty payable out of Halladale, 17 9.
do. Strathy, £1 2 2.
Wm. Gordon for rent of Ardbeg, Farr, £5.

Gross rent[1] of estate as given in detail above, £1294 9 6.

No. 65. RENT-ROLL of Bighouse estate in 1819:—

BIGHOUSE PAPERS.

FORSINAIN &c. Mr Robson, £550.
DYKE. John Gunn, £28; Joseph M'Leod, £28; Joseph Mackay, £28.
BUNAHOUN. Ken. Campbell, £6 10; Geo. M'Leod, £6 10.
TRANTLEMORE. Peter Spence, £2 10; Geo. Mackay, £5; Donald Sinclair, £12 10; Hugh Mackay, £5; Donald Mackenzie, £10; Joseph Gow, £5; Widow Mackay, £5.
NHAIRE. C. & L. Gunn, £10; Hugh Mackay, £13.
AULTWILLAN. Donald Macdonald, £17.
BIGHOUSE. Hugh Mackay, £1 11 6; Wm. M'Leod, £7 1 9;

1. To save space we did not give fractions of a penny in recording the rents: this explains the small difference between the gross total and the recorded sums.

Bain M'Leod, £6 6; Mackay, snr., £4 14 6; Nicol, £2 7 3; Robert Cooper, £3 3; Widow Rob. Mackay, £3 15 7; Widow Hector Munro, £3 15 7; John Munro, £3 15 7; Widow Hugh M'Leod, £3 15 7; John Macbeth, £10 10; Mackay Oag, £5 5.

TRANTLEBEG. Wm. Sutherland, £3 13 10; John Macdonald, £14 15 5; Rob. Macdonald, £14 15 5; James Ross, £14 15 5.

CROICK. Alex. Mackay, £15; John Hossack, £1 17 6; Donald Mackinlay, £5 12 6; Widow A. Mackenzie, £7 10.

DALHALVA. Colin Mackay, £9; Widow K. Mackay, £9; Angus Mackay, £9; Don. Campbell, £9 10.

CRAIGTON. Widow Macdonald, £5 10; Alex. Murray, £16 6 8; Geo. M'Leod, £8 3 4; Widow Ross, £6; Robert Mackay, £6.

ALTSUISGIL. Alex. Gunn, £11.

ACHAWMAND. Simpson, £8; Hugh Bain, £4 10.

CAOLFEARN. Wm. Gunn, £4 10.

CALGARYBEG. Angus Mackay, £10.

CONIGILL. Don. Mackay, £12; Mackay Gow, £4.

DISPOLLY. Hugh Mackay, £4 10; Mackenzie, £4 10; Hugh M'Laren, £18.

HEAVIG. Wm. Gunn, £18; Sutherland, £18.

CORKALL. Charles M'Leod, £4 10; Geo. Cooper, £6 10; Hugh Mackay, £10; Widow K. M'Leod, £3 5; Geo. Mackay, jnr., £3 5; Angus Cooper, £10.

GOLVAL. Don. Mackay, £5 14; Angus Mackay, £5 14; Malcolm Fraser, £11 8; Joseph Mackay, £7 12; Stewart, £7 12; Angus Sutherland, £7 12; Wm. Campbell, smith, £1 18; Donald Angus, £1 18; Rod. M[illegible]donald, £3 16; James Cooper, £1 4; Cameron, £3 16; Magnus Mackay, £7 12.

N. GOLVAL & TOR. Gabriel Reed, £160.

ACHRIDIGIL. Widow C. M'Leod, £3; Wm. Bain, £6; Widow A. M'Leod, £6.

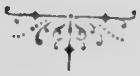
STROINDOW. Hugh Oag, £6.

ACHRAMSCRAIG. Joseph Mackay, £6 6; Angus Mackay, £6 6; Widow Macdonald, 15/.

MELVICH. James Cooper, £1 13 6; Widow Campbell, £2; Hugh Mackay, £3; Angus Bain, £3; Widow Cooper, £3; Angus M'Laren, £4; Hector Mackay, £2; Wm. Bain, £3; Campbell, £3 5; Angus Cooper, £3 5; Cameron, £3 5; Sergt. C. Sinclair, £15; Angus M'Leod, merchant, 10/; Rob. Macdonald, £1 15; Fraser, £3; William Scott, £4 0 9.

Salmon Fishing. Messrs. Landels & Co., £150.

Gross total rental £1566 18 8.



ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 15, heading l. 14, *for* III.—EARY *read* III.—EARLY.

P. 24, l. 32. Hugo Freskin is the ancestor of the house of Sutherland. His son William, Lord of Sutherland (Willelmus, dominus de Suthyrlandia, filius et heres quondam Hugonis Freskyn), was father of William, 1st Earl of Sutherland. The latter died c. 1330 (Introduction *Cart. Mor.*).

P. 37, *n.* l. 2, *for* littoralis *read* litteralis.

P. 42, l. 28, *for* his armed footmen *read* one footman armed. The Latin excerpt reads:—"King Roberts charter to Mak ti—reddendo annuatim gueram uram. quando contigerit vnum peditum armatam cum sustentune sua quadraginta dierum, et faciendo forinsecum seruitium quantum pertinet ad dictam terram."

P. 163, l. under heading, *for* 1680-1786 *read* 1680-1748.

P. 166, l. 15, *for* imprisioned *read* imprisoned.

P. 173, l. 32, *for* colonly *read* colony.

P. 178, l. 14. Glenorchy and Breadalbane were but different designations of one and the same person, for in 1681 Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy was created Earl of Breadalbane. During the rebellion of 1715, after a good deal of double dealing, he sent 500 men to join the Chevalier, and dying soon after escaped punishment (*Scots Peerage*, Vol II., pp. 203-4).

P. 191. Fight at the Little Ferry. This engagement took place on 15th April, 1746, *i.e.*, on the day before Culloden, as the following entry on the fly-leaf of a list of men of the Sutherland estate capable of bearing arms in 1745, lying at Dunrobin Castle, shows:—"Men guarding passes from August, 1745, to 14th February, 1746 (West). Men on duty from 15th April (day of attacking rebels) to 26th August, 1746."

P. 238, l. 13. Mr. John Mackay died at Hereford on 4th February, 1906, in his 84th year.

P. 254, *exc.* l. 3, *after* Helen *delete all enclosed in brackets, and read* Dr. George Macdonald, poet, novelist, and preacher, who died in Sept., 1905, was the son of Helen (Mrs. Macdonald), dau. of Captain Alexr. Mackay, Duartbeg.

P. 322, TABLE G., *for* I. Angus, son of 2nd Ld. Reay, *read* I. Angus, son of 1st Ld. Reay.

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